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¶ The A.B.C. for Chyldren to learne.

✠ Aa,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,k,l,m,n,o
p,q,r,ꝛ,ſ,s,t,v,u,w,x,y,z,&,eſt.
Amen, ſh.ā.ē.ī.ō.ū.ſt.ſſ.tt.fl.ſl.
A.B.C.D.E.F.G.H.I.K.L
M N O P Q R.S.T.U.X.Y.

¶ A.a b.c.d.e.f.g.h.i.k.l.m.n.o.p.q.r.ſ.s
t.u.v.x.y.z.&.Eſt Amen.ā.ē.ī.ō.ū.

¶ A.B.C.D.E.F.G.H.I.K.L.M.N.O.P
Q.R.S.T.V.W.X.Y.Z.

[illegible]	e	i	o	u	a	e	i	o	u
[illegible]	eb	ib	ob	ub	an	en	in	on	[illegible]
[illegible]	ec	ic	oc	uc	ap	ep	ip	op	up
[illegible]	ed	id	od	ud	ar	er	ir	or	ur
[illegible]	ef	if	of	uf	as	es	is	os	vs
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

good & godly worckes alowed
before god as liuely mēbers of
our ſauiour Jeſu chriſt, to whō
be al power, honour and glory,
now and euer worlde withoute
ende. Amen.

• Grace after meate.

NOwe ẏ we haue well refre-
ſhed our bodies, let vs remē-
bre the lamentable afliccions &
miſeries of manye thouſandes
our neighbours in Chriſt, biſi-
ted by the hande of God, ſome
with mortall plagues and dy-
ſeaſes, ſome with impriſōment,
ſome wyth extreame pouerty

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WILLIAM SHAKSPERE'S PETTY SCHOOL

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WILLIAM SHAKSPERE'S PETTY SCHOOL

BY

T. W. BALDWIN

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TO THE UNKNOWN ABCEDARIUS

WHO TAUGHT

WILLIAM SHAKSPERE

PREFACE

IT HAS NOT BEEN MY AIM TO WRITE a history of the petty school. I have attempted only to find out what petty school did for and to William Shakspere. Even so, I have tried to center attention upon the positive of the little we do know instead of the immense negative of what we do not know. With this purpose in mind, I have seen no point to recording here the exploded errors of the past nor for that matter of the present—there are occasions when the dead-past of scholarship should be not only permitted but even forced to bury its dead.

I had originally sketched the petty school in a few pages of a work on *William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke,* but decided in the spring of 1941 that the materials at hand warranted separate treatment. This is, therefore, an introductory volume to the larger work, and many of its characteristics are due to that fact. I have been obliged, of course, to use photographic copies instead of originals, but because of their exceeding scarcity and widely separated locations I should have been obliged for the most part to do that anyway. Under normal conditions, I might have been able to locate more of hitherto unknown materials. But it is hoped that the already known materials are sufficient for the present purpose. If, however, we can ever locate complete copies of such petty school texts as Shakspere used, they ought to be reproduced in collotype facsimile, for preservation as well as for information.

My chief debt of obligation in this particular work is to the Research Board of the University of Illinois, under the leadership of Dean Robert D. Carmichael of the Graduate School, for funds to get photographic copies of materials, as well as to various libraries, notably the Bodleian and the British Museum, which under the most adverse conditions yet found means to share the torch entrusted to them. May we realize its value even more fully and never permit it to grow dim! The

Library of the University of Illinois has been diligent in procuring these materials for me. My colleagues, Professor Harris Fletcher and Professor William Abbott Oldfather, have read the manuscript and made suggestions, but final responsibility is mine, of course. The University Press in all its members have been good-humoredly helpful comrades in all the phases of putting the difficult manuscript into print.

And now it is my hope that this sketch will arouse the interest of others who will carry the subject further toward completion.

T. W. Baldwin

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¶ Isocrates.

Ἐὰν ἧς φιλομαθὴς, ἔσῃ πολυμαθής.
Σοφία μόνη τ' κτημάτων ἀθάνατον.

Si cupidè didiceris, multa disces.
Solius sapientiæ possessio est immortalis.

A Schoolroom, from *Catechismvs paruus . . . Latinè & Graecè*, London, 1574. Reproduced from photostat of an original in Balliol College Library, Oxford, by permission. Please do not overlook Launce's dog and his bone.

CHAPTER I

THE THEORY AND THE PRACTICE OF THE ENGLISH PETTY SCHOOL IN SHAKSPERE'S DAY

WE CAN HARDLY MAKE a better beginning of our study of Shakspere's petty school than by looking at the philosophy of the pedagogical system as presented in 1588 by William Kempe.

Now followeth the duetie of the Schoolemaister, which is to vse the best way and order both in teaching and also in gouerning. Touching the former, all knowledge is taught generally both by precepts of arte, and also by practise of the same precepts. They are practised partly by obseruing examples of them in other mens workes, and partly by making somewhat of our owne, and that first by imitation, and at length without imitation. So that the perfection of the arte is not gotten at the first, but *Per numeros veniunt ista gradusque suos.*[1] Wherefore first the scholler shall learne the precepts: secondly, he shall learne to note the examples of the precepts in vnfoulding other mens workes: thirdly, to imitate the examples in some worke of his owne: fourthly and lastly, to make somewhat alone without an example. Now, all these kindes of teaching are seene in euery speciall sort of the things taught, be it Grammar, Logike, Rhetorike, Arithmetike, Geometrie, or any other Arte. The Grammar which handleth diuers languages, as English, Latine, Greeke, Hebrewe, and such others: needeth not to be wholly taught in our owne language. For by a naturall vse we learne the inflexion of words together, with the varietie of their accidentall significations: as *father, fathers, fatherhod, fatherles, fatherly, fatherlines.* So likewise by the same vse is learned the framing of words together in speach, as *he is a father, they are fathers.* But yet by this vse wee haue not the perfect skill neither to make, nor to vnmake a word by his parts and parcels. Which facultie is called *Prosodia,* in pronouncing of letters, syllables, and words with the mouth: and *Orthographia* in writing of them with the hand, wherein I place the first degree of teaching. Therefore the artificiall precepts in this facultie, are the fower and twenty letters, and the table of the syllables. These the scholler shall learne perfectly, namely, to knowe the letters by their figures, to sound them aright by their proper names, and to ioyne them together, the vowels with vowels in diphthongs, & the consonants with vowels in other syllables. Next he shall proceede to practise the same in spelling and reading other mens workes, as the Catechisme and Primer. Wherein let him not learne by

[1] "These things come in but one by one in order and degree."

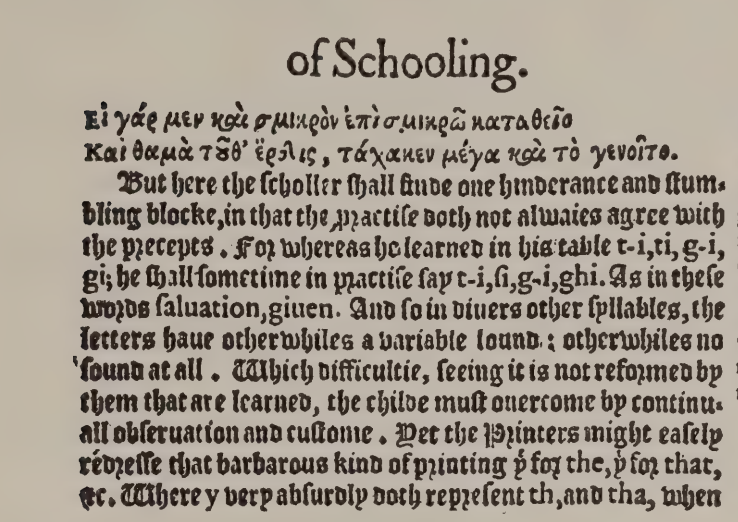
rote, spelling one sillable of a worde, and shufling vp the rest without distinct spelling. As if he had to learne this word *mercifulnes,* suffer him not, as some would, to go on thus: *m-e-r, mer, c-i-f-u-l-n-e-s, mercifulnes.* But according to the letters and syllables, which are as precepts in this behalfe, let him learne it by reason thus: *m-e-r, mer: c-i, ci, merci: f-u-l, ful, merciful: n-e-s, nes, mercifulnes.* For if he repeate the former syllables with euery other added vnto them, he shall haue all in perfect memorie when he commeth to the ende: whereas otherwise he may erre or forget. But because in the table of syllables commonly there are set forth no syllables that haue aboue two letters a peece, whereas they may haue three, fower, fiue, sixe, seauen, or eight apeece: if he knowe not the force of many letters in a syllable, he shal first learne the force of two alone, whereof one must be a vowell, then of the same two and the third added to them, and so the fourth: as in the foresayd word, the first syllable is of three letters *m,e,r:* if he know not what *m-e-r* maketh, aske him first for *m-e,* he will answere *me,* as his table teacheth him: then for *m-e-r,* no doubt he will answere *mer.* The like is to be done in the two last syllables *ful* and *nes.* So *strength* a sillable of eight letters, being too hard for a childe to learne all at once, he may learne letter by letter thus: *r-e, re; t-r-e, tre; s-t-r-e, stre; s-t-r-e-n, stren; s-t-r-e-n-g-t-h, strength.* The like practise is it, when the maister nameth the letters and the scholler giueth their signification. And this is the readiest way to induce the true meaning of the letters and syllables, and consequently the pronouncing of euery word into the phantasie of the childe. For as *Cato* euen in his tender yeeres by searching the reason of those things that were taught him, did profite wonderfully aboue his fellowes: so surely one word by reason thus exactly learned, will bring more fruit then twentie words rawlie passed ouer.

Εἰ γάρ μεν καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ καταθεῖο
Και θαμὰ τοῦθ' ἕρδις, τάχακεν μέγα καὶ τὸ γενοῖτο

For though thou adde but grayne to grayne,
yet shalt thou quickly make
A heape full big, if oftentimes
to adde regard thou take. *Hesiod.*

But here the scholler shall finde one hinderance and stumbling blocke, in that the practise doth not alwaies agree with the precepts. For whereas he learned in his table *t-i, ti, g-i, gi;* he shall sometime in practise say *t-i, si, g-i, ghi.* As in these words *saluation, giuen.* And so in diuers other syllables, the letters haue otherwhiles a variable sound: otherwhiles no sound at all. Which difficultie, seeing it is not reformed by them that are learned, the childe must ouercome by continuall obseruation and custome. Yet the Printers might easely redresse that barbarous kind of printing y^e for *the,* y^t for *that,* &c. Where *y* very absurdly doth represent *th,* and *tha,* when as it farre differeth from the force and fashion of any of these letters. And therefore the childe in learning will eftsoone repugne agaynst this barbarisme, and say: y^e, *ye:* y^t, *yt.* These and such like difficulties are as rough ground in the way of the learner: which he cannot

ouerstride, vnlesse the Maister do leade him as it were by the hand, supporting him agayne and agayne least he fall: which must needes bee tedious to them both for a while. Now, the scholler in learning euery word shall pronounce him with his true accent: as he may not say



of Schooling.

Εἰ γάρ μεν καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ καταθεῖο
Καὶ θαμὰ τῶθ' ἕρδις, τάχα κεν μέγα καὶ τὸ γενοῖτο.

But here the scholler shall finde one hinderance and stumbling blocke, in that the practise doth not alwaies agree with the precepts. For whereas he learned in his table t-i,ti, g-i, gi; he shall sometime in practise say t-i,ti,g-i,ghi. As in these words saluation, giuen. And so in diuers other syllables, the letters haue otherwhiles a variable sound; otherwhiles no sound at all. Which difficultie, seeing it is not reformed by them that are learned, the childe must ouercome by continuall obseruation and custome. Yet the Printers might easely redresse that barbarous kind of printing ẏ for the, ẏ for that, &c. Where y verie absurdly doth represent th, and tha, when

Hesiod. For though thou adde but grayne to grayne, yet shalt thou quickly make A heape full big, if oftentimes to adde regard thou take.

From William Kempe's *The Education of children*, 1588

maiéstie but *máiestie*. Also after that he hath spelled his lesson, he shall reade the same, obseruing therein the poynts and distinctions of the sentence.

Now followeth the like practise in making words, first by imitation: as the scholler hauing learned that *band* is spelled with *b-a-n-d*, so he shall imitate to spell *bond* with *b-o-n-d:* as *bold* with *b-o-l-d*, so *told* with *t-o-l-d:* as *seem* with *s-e-e-m*, so *seen* with *s-e-e-n*. Lastly without imitation: as if ye aske him how he will spell this word or that word. Thus if he bee exercised in spelling and reading his lessons, and in spelling other words propounded vnto him, sometime by his teacher, sometime by his fellowes, when he shall haue ended his first booke the Catechisme, he wil be able to passe through the Primer commendably without spelling; some harde words here and there excepted.

About the end of this Booke, for the better confirming of all these things in memorie by Orthographie, let him learne to write. For Orthographie, which teacheth with what letters euery syllable and word must be written, and with what points the sentence and parts thereof must be distinguished, is a practise of the same knowledge, but expressed by the hand, as the former is by the toong. Which expressing and skill of the hand, belongeth properly to the Arte of Painting, and not vnto Grammar, so that the best Grammarian is not alwayes the fairest penman. Neuerthelesse, seeing it

hath singular vse and commoditie in the exercise of Grammar, the Maister shall teach his Schollar to write by precepts of holding the Pen, of forming the letters in due proportion, of ioyning them aptly togethers: by practise, of drawing the Pen vpon the figures of shadowed letters, then of writing without shadowed letters by imitating a Copie, lastly, of writing without a Copie. In this exercise of writing, the Schollar shall spend but two or three houres in a day at the most, employing the rest of the time in reading, vntill he be about seauen yeares old. At which time, he shall proceede to the second degree of Schooling, which consisteth in learning the Grammar, and knowledge of other languages.[2]

Kempe has systematized the Ciceronic-Ramistic theory of imitation into four stages and has applied it to the contemporary method of teaching to spell. The reader may be amused by an exaggerated illustration of how this teaching was more likely to be done. Perhaps he had best be prompted that the fool's name is spelled Ingnoransy, and divided into five phonological sections, Ing-no-ran-his-I. Idleness

whystleth, and Ignorance cumth in, [dressed in a fool's coat, and a cap with large ears and a coxcomb.]

[*Ingn.*] I cum! I cum!

Idle. Coomme on, ye foole!
All thys day or ye can cum to scoole?

Ingn. Um! mother wyll not let me cum.

Idle. I woold thy mother had kyst thy bum!
She wyll never let the thryve, I trow.
Cum on, goose! Now, lo! men shall know
That Idlenes can do sumwhat; ye,
And play the scoolemystres, to, yf neade bee.
Mark what doctryne by Idlenes cummes!
Say thy lesson, foole.

Ingn. Upon my thummes?

Idel. Ye, upon thy thummes. Ys not there thy name?

Ingn. Yeas.

Idle. Go to, than; spell me that same.
Where was thou borne?

Ingn. Chwas i-bore in Ingland, mother sed.

Idle. In Ingland?

Ingn. Yea.

Idle. And whats half "Ingland"?
[Pointing to first one of his thumbs and then the other.]
Heeres "ing," and heeres "land." Whats tys?

Ingn. Whats tys?

---

[2]Kempe, William, *The Education of children*, pp. F_1v-F_3v.

Idel. Whats tys, horeson? whats tys?
Heeres "ing," and heeres "land." Whats tys?
Ingn. Tys my thum.
Idel. Thy thum? "Yng," horeson, "ing," "ing"!
Ingn. Yng, yng, yng, yng.
Idel. Foorth! Shall I bete thy narse, now?
Ingn. Um-m-m-m—
Idel. Shall I not bete thy narse, now?
Ingn. Um-m-m—
Idel. Say "no," foole, say "no."
Ingn. Noo, noo, noo, noo, noo!
Idel. Go to, put together: "yng."
Ingn. "Yng."
Idel. "No."
Ingn. "Noo."
Idel. Forth now! What sayth the dog?
Ingn. Dog barke.
Idle. Dog barke? Dog ran, horeson, dog ran!
Ingn. Dog ran, horson, dog ran, dog ran.
Idel. Put together: "ing."
Ingn. "Yng."
Idel. "No."
Ingn. "Noo."
Idel. "Ran."
Ingn. "Ran."
Idle. Foorth now; what seyth the goose?
Ingn. Lag! lag!
Idle. "Hys," horson, "hys"!
Ing[*n*]. Hys, hys-s-s-s-s.
Idle. Go to, put together: "Ing."
Ingn. "Ing."
Idle. "No."
Ingn. "Noo."
Idle. "Ran."
Ingn. "Ran."
Idle. "Hys".
Ing[*n*]. "Hys-s-s-s-s-s-s."
Idle. No[w], who is a good boy?
Ingn. I, I, I, I, I, I.
Idle. Go to, put together: "Ing."
Ingn. "Ing."

Idle. "No."
Ingn. "Noo."
Idel. "Ran."
Ingn. "Ran."
Idel. "His."
Ingn. "Hys-s-s-s-s-s."
Idel. "I."
Ingn. "I."
Idel. "Ing-no-ran-his-I."
Ingn. "Ing-no-ran-hys-s-s-s."
Idle. "I".
Ingn. "I".
Idel. "Ing."
Ingn. "Ing."
Idel. Foorth!
Ingn. "Hys-s-s-s."
Idel. Ye! "No," horeson, "no"!
Ingn. "Noo, noo, noo, noo"!
Idle. "Ing-no".
Ingn. "Ing-noo."
Idle. Forth now!
Ingn. "Hys-s-s-s-s."
Idel. Yet agayne! "Ran," horeson, "ran," "ran."
Ingn. "Ran, horson, ran, ran."
Idle. "Ran," say!
Ingn. "Ran-say."
Idle. "Ran," horson!
Ingn. "Ran, horson!"
Idle. "Ran"!
Ingn. "Ran."
Idle. "Ing-no-ran."
Ingn. "Ing-no-ran."
Idel. Foorth, now. What sayd the goose?
Ingn. Dog barke.
Idle. Dog barke? "Hys," horson, "hys-s-s-s-s-s."
Ingn. "Hys-s-s-s-s-s-s."
Idle. "I."
Ingn. "I."
Idle. "Ing-no-ran- hys-I."
Ingn. "Ingno-ran-hys-s-s-s-s."

Idle. "I."
Ingn. "I."
Idle. How sayst, now, foole? Is not there thy name?
Ingn. Yea.
Idle. Well than; can me that same!
What hast thow lernd?
Ingn. Ich can not tell.[3]

If this play of *Wyt and Science* was "made by master Jhon Redford" as the manuscript of it claims, then it doubtless reflects to some degree his connection with petties at St. Paul's. At any rate, schoolmistress Idleness was just as insistent upon "putting together" in spelling as was schoolmaster Kempe around a half-century later. It had doubtless long been considered the best educational practice. In addition, Idleness had been forced to resort to various memory devices with Ignorance, with no outstanding degree of success, as appears. With exception of the first, the devices are obvious. In the first, it was necessary to separate "Ing" from "land." So Idleness had hit on the device of naming one thumb of Ignorance "Ing" and the other "land." Consequently, Ignorance expected to spell his name on his thumbs, and Idleness should have been able to elicit the first syllable of the name by touching the proper thumb, but all Ignorance could think of was "Tys my thum," when he should have thought of its name, "Ing." So one of the many fool-proof contemporary systems of memorization met its Waterloo.

But to continue with Kempe, he regards it as the business of the first stage to teach prosody and orthography. To this end the boy learns first his ABC's and syllables. This material was conventionally so constructed as to occupy a single page. It was printed regularly with the catechism, as occasionally with other works, but was also used separately, encased in wood and faced with horn as the hornbook. In effect, therefore, Kempe's first requirement is of the hornbook. The boy then proceeds to the Catechism, and thence to the Primer. Through these he learns to read, while some attention is given at the Primer stage to learning to write. This is the petty work in

[3]Adams, J. Q., *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas,* pp. 332-333, with slight modifications.

English, which Kempe expects the boy to have done in time to enter grammar school to begin Latin at seven—being a grammar-school master, Kempe is not interested in what happens to the girls.[4] As we shall see, Kempe is here merely applying his own quadripartite pedagogical method to the regular practice of his day.

It will be remembered how Kempe is here complaining in 1588 of the stumbling block to petties caused by the fact that the practice of English orthography does not always agree with the precepts. This difficulty had long been recognized. For instance, Arthur Golding, whose translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Shakspere has so well advertized to us—Golding uses a puff for Baret's *Alvearie* of 1573 as a stalking horse from behind which to shoot a particular shaft of his own wit upon this question of orthography in its fullest sense.

> And furthermore right well thou mayst espie,
> There lakt in him no forewardnesse of minde
> To haue set downe a sownd Orthographie:
> Through want whereof all good inditers find
> Our Inglishe tung driuen almost out of kind,
> Dismembred, hacked, maymed, rent, and torne,
> Defaced, patched, mard, and made a skorne.
>
> For who is he that rightly can discerne
> The case, the kind, and number of the Nowne?
> For my instruction gladly I would lerne,
> How men might trie what writer setteth downe
> The Article aright, or who doth drowne
> The Pronowne by misplacing it, as now
> Most wryters doe, and yet they marke not how.
>
> I thinke it would a good Gramarian poze
> To giue iust rules of Deriuation,
> And Composition, as our writing goes.
> And yet no tung of other Nation
> Hath either greater grace or store of those,
> Than Inglish hath: yee would not thinke ywis
> How rich in Composition Inglishe is.

[4]Robert Greene very well sums up the conventional education of a girl of the better class, which was based upon petty school. "My selfe am an instance, who after I grew to be sixe yeeres olde, was sette to Schoole, where I profited so much that I writ and read excellently well, playd vpon the virginals, Lute & Cytron, and could sing prick-song at the first sight: in so much, as by that time I was twelue yeeres olde, I was holden for the most faire, and best qualitied young girle in all that Countrey" (Grosart, *Greene*, Vol. X, p. 239).

Moreouer, how shall men directly find
The Coniugation, Number, Person, Tence,
And Moode of Verbes togither in their kind?
What man I praie can stand in iust defence
Of due Construction both of wordes and sence?
And if to Verse men further will proceede,
Which yeeldes lesse skope and asketh greater heede:

How shall a man assure true quantitie
Of time, or tune? Or if he would expresse
The diffrence, and the natiue propertie
Of brode North speech and Sowthren smoothednesse:
How might he set it downe with cumlinesse,
Where men in writing doe so fondly dote,
As nought is done by rule, but all by rote?

But were there once a sound Orthographie
Set out by learning and aduised skill,
(Which certesse might be done full easilie)
And then confirmed by the Souereines will,
(For else would blind and cankred custome still
His former errors wilfully maintaine
And bring vs to his *Chaos* backe againe:)

No doubt but men should shortly find there is
As perfect order, as firme certeintie,
As grounded rules to trie out things amisse,
As much sweete grace, as great varietie
Of wordes and phrazes, as good quantitie
For verse or prose in Inglish euery waie,
As any comen Language hath this daie.

And were wee giuen as well to like our owne,
And for too clense it from the noisome weede
Of affectation which hath ouergrowne
Ungraciously the good and natiue seede,
As for to borrowe where wee haue no neede:
It would pricke neere the learned tungs in strength,
Perchaunce and match mee some of them at length.[5]

Golding's solution is

a sound Orthographie
Set out by learning and aduised skill,
(Which certesse might be done full easilie)
And then confirmed by the Souereines will.

Golding wishes for an authorized English grammar, just as King Henry VIII had established an authorized Latin gram-

[5]Baret, John, *An Alvearie or Quadruple Dictionarie* (1580).

mar, which held sway for some three centuries.[6] Golding thought such an authorized orthography would be easy to arrive at by the learned, and Kempe later complains that inconsistent orthography "is not reformed by them that are learned."

But various people, learned or unlearned, had been exercising their hands at reforming English orthography—and few generations since have failed to produce at least some who have made more or less futile attempts in that direction. For instance, William Bullokar had been attempting in the 'eighties to remedy the quirks of this same orthography in its narrowest sense, of which quirks Kempe was still complaining. Bullokar's idea was to bring in a symbol for every possible sound (he wanted thirty-seven sounds for English, requiring "forty single figures," instead of the conventional twenty-four). Words could then be spelled exactly as they were pronounced, so he thought, and pedagogues could thenceforth devote their time to being unhappy about something else. He had published his book on orthography in 1580, announcing in its title page a Pamphlet and a Primer to accompany it. He tells us in 1585 that the Pamphlet was for spelling and that not more than thirty copies of the spelling pamphlet and Primer had been issued, which he wishes may be burned as he has burned the remainder of the impression. He had begun publication in August 1580 and by Easter term in 1581 had published further a corrected form of the Pamphlet for spelling, as well as his Book at large on orthography, and soon after a more perfect form of the Primer. In June 1583 he printed twenty brief articles by way of challenge. In 1585, he printed the Psalter, Aesop's Fables, and Cato. He began with a spelling pamphlet and then proceeded to the Psalter and Primer "because these be the first books that are handled of learners,"[7] and he says, "I have altered no sentence nor word in the Primer from the former and commonest impression thereof at this day." Simi-

[6]Shakspere is using the word orthography in its widest sense as defined above by Golding and Kempe, when he causes Benedick to say of Claudio, "He was wont to speak plain and to the purpose, like an honest man and a soldier; and now is he turned orthography; his words are a very fantastical banquet, just so many strange dishes" (*Much Ado,* II, 3, 19-23). Shakspere knew very well what orthography was in his day, and what it frequently led to. He would have got this knowledge of the definition from the section on orthography in his Latin grammar, if nowhere else. Holofernes will later speak for the narrower sense of the word orthography.

[7]Plessow, Max, "Geschichte der Fabeldichtung in England bis zu John Gay (1726)," *Palaestra,* Vol. LII, p. 6. I have modernized the orthography of the quotation.

larly, he had printed "the Psalter, keeping therein also the former allowed translation," which would be that of *The Book of Common Prayer* presumably, from Cranmer's "Great Bible." Since Bullokar is using the Primer as the first book, he evidently is reprinting the common-form primer and catechism of his day. Unfortunately, no copy of Bullokar's edition seems to be known. Bullokar, therefore, expects the boy to learn to read upon the same materials as did Kempe, and adds the Psalter as a companion. As we shall see, Primer and Psalter had been traditional in this function.[8] Like Kempe, Bullokar is merely exemplifying his particular pedagogical hobby upon the conventional materials of his day.

Bullokar mentions the work of Sir Thomas Smith, *De recta & emendata Lingvae Anglicae Scriptione, Dialogvs* (Paris, 1568), and that of John Hart, *An Orthographie* (London, 1569). Both Smith and Sir John Cheke had early been engaged in an attempt to reform Greek pronunciation at Cambridge, and both later made some attempts upon English orthography.[9] But Smith and Cheke belong to the learned tradition, and do not throw light on the organization of the petty school of their day. Hart, however, was not content with merely publishing a system of phonetic spelling in 1569, which he claimed to have begun working on twenty years before and was now by Smith's example encouraged to publish. He then proceeded in 1570 to publish his *Methode,* which is an ABC of sorts, in his system. He also suggests that in addition it would be well to print in his system "the psalter, with the order of morning and euening prayer, and the new testament." Bullokar, therefore, is following Hart's footsteps when he proceeds to put a whole set of texts for petty school into his system. He really believed in his system and hoped to make it prevail!

Mulcaster in 1582 accepts the same traditional routine as Kempe and Bullokar.

And forsomuch as the goodnesse and vertew of matter is most fit for the young childe in the first seasoning of his tender minde: and the matter it self is spred into two branches, consonant vnto the main distinction of the ten commandments, either for religion towards God, and

[8]Bullokar was also concerned with further stages of the school system which we need not consider here.

[9]Plessow, "Fabeldichtung," *Palaestra,* Vol. LII, pp. CXLVII ff.

right opinion in faith: or for ciuilitie towards men, and right iudgement in behauior: I will therefor cast the matter of *reading* so, as it shall answer at full both to religion in faith, and to ciuilitie in frindship.[10] Wherefor to laie the first ground of learning, which is to learn to read, in religion towards God, and in religion it self to obserue the law and ordinances of my cuntrie, I will after the A b c, set down the ordinarie catechism set furth by my prince, and the state of my cuntrie, with all such appendants for graces, and other praiers, as shall seme most pertinent to the Elementarie traning of a christian child. Therevnto I will ioyn som other pretie short treatis concerning the same religious argument being of good importance for those years to vnderstand: and as warilie appointed, as God shall appoint me. Then will I set down som other well pikt discourse, which shall concern morall behauiour, and right opinions that waie. In all which I will haue both a speciall, & a continuall regard to these four points in the childe, his *memorie,* his *delite,* his *capacitie,* and his *forwarding.*[11]

As Mulcaster intimates, the law and ordinances required the catechism as the first book after the ABC. Similarly, the "other pretie short treatis concerning the same religious argument" would in the 'eighties be Nowell's *Middle Catechism* in English. These would supply the first distinction of the commandments, the duty towards God. Nowell had about 1571 attached to the *Little Catechism* a section upon the duty toward man, laying down the reciprocal duties of the various classes of society. So Mulcaster also proposes to attend further to this second aspect of man's duty by a "well pikt discourse, which shall concern morall behauiour, and right opinions that waie." This discourse could be an English translation of Tully's *Offices,* as Bullokar a little later proposed, using Grimald's translation, as evidently was frequently done. But it could conceivably have been some book of manners, such as those later recommended by Brinsley, and already current for that purpose, Seager, for instance. The Nowell, however, and especially the Cicero might not be attained ordinarily till grammar school; Mulcaster wished much to enlarge the elementary training in English. Mulcaster has here at least explained the philosophy underlying the selection of texts in petty school. The aims of petty school were wholly and consciously religious and moral.

[10]The reference is to the division as made in the *Little Catechism.*
Master: What dost thou chiefly learn by these Commandments?
Scholar: I learn two Things: My Duty towards God, and my Duty towards my Neighbour.

[11]Mulcaster, Richard, *The first part of the Elementarie* (1925), p. 61.

Another statement of Mulcaster's also envisions this same routine in petty school and gives some further hints on details.

When the childe shall haue the matter of his *Reading,* which is his first principle so well proined and so pikked, as it shall catechise him in relligion trewlie [the *Little Catechism*], frame him in opinion rightlie [Nowell's *Catechism*], fashion him in behauior ciuillie [by such works as Tully's *Offices,* and Seager], and withall contain in som few leaues the greatest varietie of most syllabs, the chefe difference of most words, the sundrie pronouncing of all parts, and branches of euerie period, doth not *Reading* then which is the first principle seme to season verie sure [*a la* Horace's vessel, which reeks throughout sixteenth century pedagogical literature]? enriching the minde with so precious matter, and furnishing the tung with so perfit an vtterance? When the argument of the childs *Copie,* and the direction of his hand, whereby he learns to write shalbe answerable to his reading, for choice of good matter, and reuerence to young yeares, neither shall offer anie thing to the eie, but that may beawtifie the minde, and will deserue memorie, will not *writing* season well, which so vseth the hand, as it helpeth to all good?"[12]

Mulcaster again points at the same catechetical and moral materials. Like Kempe, Mulcaster expects these materials to be such as to teach the boy variety of syllables, differences of words, pronunciation, and proper discrimination of the parts of a sentence in reading, through understanding the points or punctuation.

Mulcaster then proceeds to argue for a more enlarged elementary training than the usual, to include "reading, writing, drawing, singing, and playing."[13] But for this particular treatise

I handle specially in it the right writing of our English tung, a verie necessarie point, and of force to be handled, ear the child be taught to read, which reading is the first principle of the hole Elementarie. For can reading be right before writing be righted, seing we read nothing else, but what we se writen? or can writing seme right, being chalēged for wrong, before it be cleared? I account the print as a statarie writing, and therefor incident to the same term.

Mulcaster has studied this problem carefully, "Whereby I do perceiue, why we ought to write thus, as the common currant is, without the alteration of either custom, or charact, tho with som correction of certain wāts, and generall direction for

[12]Mulcaster, *Elementarie* (1925), p. 24.
[13]Mulcaster, *Elementarie* (1925), p. 5.

the hole pen."[14] Mulcaster here alludes to Bullokar's efforts (? Hart's also) by special characters and "correct" grammar to reform the language. Mulcaster accepts the language, hoping merely to express it. Kempe hopes someone will decide something, but in the meantime faces the language as it is to teach it as best he can. Bullokar and Mulcaster were reforming pedagogical theorists; Kempe a "methodist" schoolmaster. But all three agree on the elements of the current system. All agree upon *The ABC with the Little Catechism* and appurtenances, as authorized and required by law, for reading, and all agree that the boy should at this stage learn to write. There would also be further supplementary reading in English at this stage or in grammar school.

A still earlier writer, F. Clement, had desired only to give the schoolmaster a method of teaching the child first to spell and then to punctuate. He accepts the orthography of English for better or for worse, and merely advocates a system of rules for spelling to enable one to master the art. He also assumes that the schoolmaster knows what texts to use. His work eventually took the form indicated by the following title,

The Petie Schole With an English Orthographie, wherin by rules lately prescribed is taught a method to enable both a childe to reade perfectly within one moneth, & also the vnperfect to write English aright. Hereto are newly added 1. verie necessary precepts & patterns of writing the Secretary & Romaine hands, 2. to number by letters, and figures, 3. to cast accomptes, &c.[15]

I quote the title of the edition of 1587. But the epistle "To the courteous Reader" is dated July 21, 1576. This epistle precedes the section on spelling. After that section, there is an address "To the petie Scholer," in which Clement confides that after he had published the first part on spelling, he had been persuaded to add sections on writing and numbering. Now Bagford's catalogue records "Francis Clements his School of Spelling & y^{e} Petty Scholars precepts for Writing, Numeration and placing of Counters in 8vo, 1576."[16] On the face of it, this appears to mean that the "newly added" materials on writing

[14]Mulcaster, *Elementarie* (1925), pp. [A$_{4}$v]-[A$_{5}$r].

[15]I am indebted to Huntington Library for permitting the Library of the University of Illinois to have a photographic copy for my use.

[16]Heal, A., *The English Writing-Masters and their Copy-Books*, p. 128.

and numbering already were in the edition of 1576, and consequently that the section on spelling had appeared separately some time earlier. It should be noticed, however, that Bagford is not quoting a title page, but taking the running headings of the different parts by way of describing the contents of the volume. The author is not mentioned on the title page, but occurs at the end of the epistle, just preceded by the date "21. of Iuly. 1576." It seems clear that Bagford's note was made from a copy of some edition with the same contents as that of 1587, but without a title page.

A reference to contemporary events makes the relative dating certain. In the epistle "To the petie Scholer" Clement had warned him against love-books, which inevitably led to common plays.

I haue yet further to warne thee of an other τέρας αἰνὸν ἰδέσθαι .i. monstre horrible to beholde, I meane common playes which do no lesse, yea rather more metamorphize, trāsfigure, deforme, peruert and alter the harts of their haunters. But sith their chiefest Stages (of good men thought fit standerdes to display the streemes of the diuels flags) labour now with such discredit, that al the honest abhorre them, doe thou also bid them ἐᾶν χαίρειν .i. to leape the ladder, with this antiphony or countersonge aduising better the *Histrions:*

The [c]ommō poison of cō mon playes.

Vile Theatron eat pessum, Cortina labascat:
Scenica nunc Comus cesset adulteria.
Let vile Theater wag to wracke,
And Courtaine couch streightwayes:
Let Comus, cob of all misrule,
Now ceese adulterous playes.

θεάτρον A spectacle or gasing place. κῶμος the Panimes God of all in temperancy, Tulli saith of himself that what tyme other wasted in their busines, playes, pleasure, sleepe, feasts dise, & playing at the ball: that bestowed he in poring vpon his booke. pro Archia.

But I beshrew these lewde louebookes and *Paganish* playes, that haue brought vs thus farre from our purpose. I well now persuaded of thy terrour by these monstrous effectes, retourne to our former bookeloue agayne. This vertuous and pearelesse loue effecteth these happy issues contrary to that vicious & perilous loue before. This embraseth vertue, abandoneth vice, expelleth ignorance, and nourisheth wisedom & learning, etc.[17]

July 21, 1576, is certainly too early for such a double-barreled blast upon the Theater and Curtain. It fits much more naturally into the period preceding 1587. Thus the additions were made for that edition, or for one not long preceding it.

[17]Clement, *Petie Schole* (1587), pp. 40-41.

Clement wishes in the first section of this book in 1576 to teach "to write true English." He advises the "English teacher"

to vse discretion in acquainting the childe either with al, or some of these rules of spelling, as he is of yeares and capacitie.

Though he be but foure yeares of age, yet at the least let him learne to discerne the vowels from the consonants, and with all, in spelling, to obserue the rule of leauing the consonant comming before a vowel. Also let him call the Diphthonges ou, and ea, as is appointed, when they fall in his lesson. The rest, for so young children I leaue to thine o[w]ne iudgement, doubtlesse vsing the order here prescribed, thou shalt in very shorte time bring the child to a perfect reading.[18]

Clement expected the child to have done this by seven or eight.[19] That seems a reasonable expectation when one remembers the glowing promise on the title page to teach the child to "reade perfectly within one moneth." Incidentally, the reader should notice the implied standard of "perfect" reading. It was the barest ability to call letters and simple words.

Clement has written a work that was first of all for the master, not primarily a text for the child. The work consisted originally only of a method of spelling, apparently first published in 1576, together with the rules of punctuation. Thus in 1576 Clement covered "The First Part of the Elementarie," just as Mulcaster was to do in 1582, but in a much more humble and practical way. Then by or before 1587 Clement had added a long address "To the petie Scholer," telling how he had been persuaded by the success of this first part upon spelling to extend his method to writing and numbering. Thence he launches into a longish and very dull exhortation to youth, liberally interspersed with quotations in Greek for the four-year olds. There follow sections upon writing, and numeration, the latter explaining how to use counters. Clement's interest was first of all, then, to sum up for the schoolmaster the correct rules of spelling, so that by them the master could teach the boy to spell correctly in order that he might then learn to read. But he also expected the child to learn to write and to cast accounts. He alone of these theorists shows any real concern with the third R, Arithmetic, though Coote also gets as far as one fairly long paragraph on numeration.

[18]Clement, *Petie Schole* (1587), pp. A_4r and v.
[19]Clement, *Petie Schole* (1587), p. A_3v.

Clement aimed first at instructing the teacher, and then adapted his work somewhat toward the petty himself. Edmund Coote aims primarily at supplying a text for the petty himself to use under the direction of the teacher. Coote aimed in his *English Schoolmaster* (1596) to teach

the most easie, short, and perfect order of distinct Reading, and true Writing our English-tongue, that hath ever yet been known or published by any. And further also, teacheth a direct course, how any unskilful person may easily both understand any hard English words, which they shall in Scriptures, Sermons, or else-where, hear or read; & also be made able to use the same aptly themselves; and generally whatsoever is necessary to be known for the *English* speech: so that he which hath this Book only, needeth to buy no other to make him fit from his Letters to the *Grammer-School,* for an *Apprentice,* or any other private use so far as concerneth *English.* And therefore it is made not only for Children, though the first Book be meer childish for them, but also for all other; especially for those that are ignorant in the *Latin* Tongue . . . Devised . . . by *Edward* [*sic*] *Coote,* Master of the Free-school in *St. Edmonds-Bury.*

I quote the title-page of the thirty-seventh edition, 1673,[20] a sufficient guarantee that the work met a fundamental need, even though it came much too late for Shakspere.

Coote reduced to practical terms the theoretical type of text in Clement and in consequence became the standard work in the field, recognized as such by both Brinsley and Hoole. Coote continues, "I undertake to teach my Scholars, that shall be trained up for any Grammar-school, that they shall never err in writing the true Orthography of any word truly pronounced: which, what ease and benefit it will bring unto School-masters, they best know." One hears the clatter of Holofernes' feet as he rushes to purchase this miraculous boon, for which schoolmasters so long had sought.

"I do teach the first part of *Arithmetick,* to know or write any number." Since *The ABC with the Catechism* provided the numbers, it is clear that at least numeration, the first part of arithmetic, was expected to be taught in petty school, and it is this part only in its barest elements that Coote later provides.

"By the Practice, hereunto adjoyned, all Learners shall so frame and tune their voices, as that they shall truly or naturally

[20]University of Illinois Library; Heber copy.

pronounce any kind of stile, in either Prose or Verse." Like the others, Coote insists on "tunable" reading, or *prosodia* as Kempe would call it. That was also constantly insisted upon in reading Latin.

"By the same practice children shall learn, in a *Catechism,* the knowledg of the principles of true Religion, with precepts of virtue and civil behaviour." Coote also recognizes the double objective of religion and moral behavior. But instead of using various works to attain this objective as Mulcaster and others proposed, Coote has constructed one catechism to give the essence and save time. Of course, this could not supplant the *Little Catechism,* which every child must get. But it does give an adapted epitome from Nowell's *Middle Catechism,* with other conventional materials, such as prayers, graces, etc., added.

I have made a part of a brief Chronology, for practising of reading hard words, wherein thou shalt be much helped for the understanding of the *Bible,* and other Histories; and a Grammar Scholar learn to know when his Authors both *Greek* and *Latin* lived; and when the principal Histories in them were done.

I have set down a Table containing and teaching the true writing and understanding of any hard *English* word borrowed from the *Greek, Latin,* or *French,* and how to know the one from the other, with the interpretation thereof, by a plain English word; whereby the Children shall be prepared for the understanding of thousands of *Latin* words before they enter the Grammar-School, which also will bring much delight and judgment to others. . . . If I be generally received, I shall cause one uniform manner of teaching; a thing which as it hath brought much profit unto the *Latin* tongue, so would it do to all other Languages, if the like were practised.

Finally I have given thee such Examples for fair writing, whereby in every School all bad hands may be abandoned.

Coote has aimed at codifying and methodizing petty-school practice, as grammar-school practice had within limits been codified and methodized. The wide and continued use of his work shows that it met a considerable measure of success. But Coote is merely systematizing the method for teaching things which traditionally had been emphasized. His chief emphasis is upon true orthography, that bugbear of the English petty school. Like Clement, Mulcaster, and Kempe, Coote proposes to take it as it is and to train the boy to master its peculiarities. Coote also teaches the first part of arithmetic in one para-

graph, which is unmentioned by Bullokar, Mulcaster, and Kempe for this stage; but provided more fully by Clement, together with casting accounts. Proper *prosodia* is also emphasized as usual. Religious and moral subject matter is conventional, of course. Chronology and a table of borrowed words look forward to the grammar school and were no doubt appreciated in that quarter, but are unmentioned elsewhere. Writing is, of course, standard with all systems. So Coote has systematized the "three Rs", and has supplemented the religious and moral matter of petty school with some more secular material for the benefit of grammar school. As he was a grammar-school master, such an extension was natural, whether needed or not.

We may well include, and conclude with, the loquacious Brinsley, since he lovingly brings in everything, though we can quote only parts of his offering. Brinsley in 1611 still expects the children to "goe thorow their Abcie, and Primer."[21] By Abcie he evidently means *The ABC with the Catechism,* and apparently the only form of primer available at this time was *The Primer and Catechism.* Brinsley proceeds to give detailed instructions as to how to teach the elements.

First the childe is to be taught, how to call euery letter, pronouncing each of them plainely, fully and distinctly; I meane, in a distinct and differing sound, each from others, and also naturally, from the very first entrance to learning. More specially to bee carefull, for the right pronouncing the fiue vowels, in the first place, as *a, e, i, o, u.* Because these are first and most naturall, and doe make a perfect sound, so that they may bee pronounced fully of themselues; and they being rightly vttered, all the rest are more plaine. After these vowels, to teach them to pronounce euery other letter: which are therefore called Consonants, because they cannot make a perfect sound of themselues, without a Vowell.

This may be done, and also the teaching of children to spell any syllable, before the child do know any letter on the booke; and that, some wise and experienced doe hold the surest and best course. But they are, at least, to be taught to pronounce their letters thus, as they doe learne them; to preuent the griefe and wearisomnesse of teaching them to forget euill customes in pronouncing, which they tooke vp in their first ill learning. And so euer in teaching to read, the teachers are to continue the like care of sweet and naturall pronunciation.

[21]Brinsley, John, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 17 (copy belonging to the Library of the University of Illinois).

Secondly, for the knowing of the letters (besides that common manner practiced in Schooles, which is by oft reading ouer all the letters forwards and backwards vntill they can say them) they may be much furthered thus; That is, by causing the childe to find out, and to shew you which is *a,* which *b,* which *c,* which *f,* and so any other letter. First to finde them in the Alphabet, then in any other place. Or if you will let them learne but one letter at once, vntill they can readily know or finde out that letter in any place, and after that another in the same manner: This is holden the surer and more easie way: But this at your owne iudgement.

3. You may helpe them to spell thus, besides that course which is vsuall. Let so many as are beginners, or who cannot reade perfectly, stand together, and then poase them without booke, one by one. First, in syllables of two letters, as they are set downe in their A. B. C. and where one misseth, let his next fellow tell: if he cannot, then, let some other. Then examine them in syllables of three letters, after in moe. And euer what syllable they misse, marke it with a dent with the nayle, or a pricke with a pen, or the like: and when you haue marked out those wherein they so misse, poase them oft ouer, not forgetting due praise to them who doe best. One halfe houre would be spent daily in this kind of examining, vntill they be perfect in any syllable, or word. To make children to take a delight in spelling, let them spell many syllables together, which differ but only in one letter, as hand, band, land, sand, &c. These syllables and words following, I haue obserued, to bee of the hardest for children to spell: I will set you them downe together in this short briefe. They may serue for spelling, reading, or writing, and may soone be gotten by being often poased, read or written ouer.

. . . .

These are some of the hardest syllables, as I said: your selfe may adde moe as you meet with them. Also this is to be obserued in spelling; that before (on) you spell or write commonly (ti) not (ci) as saluation, not saluacion, though we pronounce it as (ci). But this is to be knowne chiefly, by the Latine words from whence they come.

Right pronuntiation of words, and continuall practice in spelling, are the surest way to come to spell truely.

If you pronounce the word false, which you would haue your childe to spell, hee spelleth it false: for he spelleth according as it is pronounced to him, or as he vseth to pronounce. As for example; aske the childe how hee spelles a strea, (as in many places the countrey manner is to pronounce it) hee will spell strea or stre: but aske him how hee spels a strawe and to pronounce it, and he will spell strawe.

To direct further how to come to perfection in spelling or writing right, I shall haue occasion to speake after.

In ioining syllables together, they must be taught to vtter euery syllable by it selfe, truely, plainely, fully, and distinctly, as we heard of

the letters before; and so also as that others who heare may vnderstand; euer sounding out the last syllable: as sal-ua-ti-on.

Thus they may goe thorow their Abcie, and Primer. And if they reade them twise ouer, that they may be very perfect in them, it will be the better for them. For, the second reading of any booke doth much incourage children, because it seemeth to be so easie then; and also it doth imprint it the more. Besides that, they will runne it ouer so fast at the second time, as it wil be no losse of time at all vnto them.

After these they may reade ouer other English bookes. Amongst which, the Psalmes in metre would be one, because children will learne that booke with most readinesse and delight through the running of the metre, as it is found by experience. Then the Testament, in which the discreet Master may keepe his scholler lesse or more, vntill he think him meet to enter into the Accedence.

If any require any other little booke meet to enter children; *the Schoole of Vertue* is one of the principall and easiest for the first enterers, being full of precepts of ciuilitie, and such as children will soone learne and take a delight in, thorow the roundnesse of the metre, as was said before of the singing Psalmes: And after it *the Schoole of good manners,* called, *the new Schoole of vertue,* leading the childe as by the hand, in the way of all good manners.

By these meanes, children if they be well applyed, and continually kept vnto it, may be taught so to reade within a yeere or little more, as they may bee meet to enter into their Accedence, by that time that they be six yeere old at the vttermost; especially if they bee in any measure apt, and much practised in spelling the hardest syllables.[22]

There are then a few more observations, mostly evoked by the statement that some would have the children taught to pronounce letters and spell syllables "before they know a letter on the booke;" but we have already the main body of doctrine. Brinsley also shows how to keep this knowledge alive in grammar school, and there discusses numeration based upon *Orthographia* of the Latin grammar.

If you do require more for any, you must seeke *Records* Arithmetique, or other like Authors, and set them to the Cyphering schoole.[23]

Brinsley then devotes a chapter to the method of teaching to write, which can not be summed up here.

Thus Brinsley expects as a minimum the ABC, Primer, Psalms in meter, and possibly the New Testament before the Accidence and grammar school. He hopes also for Francis Seager's *School of Vertue,* which had been available before

[22]Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), pp. 15-18.
[23]Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1627), p. 26.

Shakspere was born and continued a favorite till after he was dead.[24] He hoped that Seager would be followed by a later work, "The Schoole of good Manners: Or, A new Schoole of Vertue. Teaching Children and Youth how they ought to behaue themselues in all companies. Also the manner of seruing and taking vp a Table: with diuers godly Prayers for Mornings and Euenings, and certaine new Graces: very necessarie to be vsed both of old and young. Newly corrected and augmented, By W. F." (1609).[25] William Phiston or Fiston has produced a "new Schoole of Vertue." This was entered to William Jones March 14, 1595 as *the schoole of good manners,*[26] and remained long in print.

Thus all our authors would agree that in petty school the child must learn to read and write. All would probably agree that the child should learn his numbers, and *The ABC with the Catechism* furnishes these. Clement and Coote wish the principles of numeration also to be taught in petty school, but Brinsley appears to imply that it was ordinarily attended to in grammar school and seldom done satisfactorily even there. Clement even goes so far as to show how to use counters, but Brinsley rather summarily dismisses everything which extends beyond numeration, the first part of arithmetic, to the cipher-ing school. We shall see that the theorists reflect accurately enough the contemporary statutes as to what should be taught in petty school. Clement and Brinsley give rather detailed instructions as to how to learn to write, and Coote promised to do so. All are concerned primarily with teaching the child to read, and by consequence in teaching him how to spell. For texts, they agree that the child should begin on certain religious materials; the catechism, and primer, and might supplement with other religious and moral matter. The primary objective of petty school was religious and moral.

[24]See Furnivall, F. J., "The Babees Book," *Early English Text Society,* No. 32 (1868) for reprints of Francis Seager's *Schoole of Vertue* (ed. 1557), and others of the type.

[25]Hazlitt, W. C., *Second Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes* (1882), p. 475.

[26]Arber, E. A., *A Transcript of the Stationers' Registers,* Vol. II, p. 293.

CHAPTER II

THE FORMATION OF THE AUTHORIZED *PRIMER* AND *CATECHISM*

THE THEORISTS OF SHAKSPERE'S DAY agreed that the child should begin with his ABC, usually from a hornbook, proceed thence to the *Catechism,* and continue with the *Primer.* The *Psalter* was also likely to be added, and the New Testament might be. Remaining materials would be of moral or religious import. The textbooks of petty school consisted of religious and moral materials. We must thus look to the church for an explanation here. Since these were but the first units of an authorized system, we may as well sketch that system now, so far as this particular type of religious and moral material is concerned.

About 1540, King Henry VIII had moved to put the Latin grammar into authorized form.[1] This then constituted the backbone of the grammar system. Similarly by 1545 the materials which were used in petty school had been put into authorized form. Thus by 1545 there was a uniform and authorized system from petty school through grammar school. The Reverend Henry Smith, of the silver tongue, sums up this outline of the curriculum by means of its key texts about 1593 thus, "This is the Abce, and Primmer, and Grammar, the first lesson and last lesson of a Christian."[2] And that reprobate wag, Tom Nashe, was making the same summary-reference to key texts in 1589, when he alludes to "those Pamphleters and Poets, that make a patrimonie of *In speech,* and more then a younger brothers inheritance of their *Abcie.*"[3] He refers to the Absey book for petty school and the first words of the Latin

[1] See Baldwin, T. W., *William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke,* 1943.
[2] *New English Dictionary,* ABC.
[3] McKerrow, R. B., *The Works of Thomas Nashe* (1910), Vol. III, p. 324. So when "the foundation charter of a flourishing school near London" specified that "the boys are to be taught the *Grammar* and the *ABC,*" (Bradshaw, H., *Collected Papers,* p. 333), it merely meant that they should receive petty as well as grammar school training. The materials used were in fact religious, but the training itself was no more religious than that of grammar school; in fact, not so rigorously checked upon by the church.

grammar for grammar school. These pamphleteers and poets, he intimates, were mere learned grammarians. The framework of this elementary system and its key texts had been put into authorized form by 1545.

The texts for petty school, being mostly religious and being in English, were aimed at uniformity in religion rather than uniformity in petty school. In fact, the fundamental movement was for uniformity in religion, a uniform system of teaching in petty school being merely incidental to the general movement, and so extending not far beyond the minimum necessities of this uniformity. These units of the school system were directly under the supervision of the church; and grammar school, at least, was manned for the most part by preachers in waiting. Consequently, uniformity was demanded in the religious procedures but not much in educational methods, etc. The emphasis here is on Reformation, not on Renaissance.

The whole groundwork of the Reformation system of religious education is laid in the Injunctions of King Henry VIII in 1536 and 1538. In 1536, King Henry included an injunction upon the instruction of children.

Also in the same theyr sermons and other collations, the persons, vycars, and other curates aforesaid, shal diligently admonishe the fathers and mothers, maisters, and gouernours of youthe, beynge within theyr cure, to teche or cause to be taught theyr chyldren and seruantes, euen from theyr infancy, theyr Pater noster, tharticles of our fayth, and the tenne commandementes in theyr mother tonge: And the same so taught, shall cause the sayd youthe ofte to repete and vnderstande. And to thintent this may be the more easily done, the sayde curates shal in theyr sermons deliberately and plainly recite of the said pater noster, articles, or commandementes, one clause or artycle one daye, and an other an other daye, tyll the hole be taught and lerned by lyttell and lyttell. And shall delyuer the same in writinge, or shewe where printed bokes conteyninge the same be to be solde, to them that can reede, or wyll desyre the same. And therto that the sayd fathers and mothers, maisters and gouernours, do bestowe theyr children and seruauntes, euen from their childehode, other to lernyng, or to some other honest exercyse, occupation, or husbandry, exhortinge, counsayling, and by al the wayes and meanes they may, as well in theyr sayd sermons and collations, as other wayes, perswadynge the sayde fathers, mothers, maysters, and other gouernours, beynge vnder their cure & charge, diligently to prouide & forsee, that the saide youth be in no maner wyse kepte or broughte vp in ydelnes, leste at any tyme afterwarde they be dryuen for lacke of somme mystery or occupation to lyue by, to fall to beggyng, stealynge, or some other vnthriftynes. For as

moche as we may dayly see, through sloth and ydelnes, dyuers valiant men fal, some to beggynge, and some to thefte and murder, which after brought to calamitie and mysery, impute a great parte therof to theyr frendes and gouernours, whiche suffred them to be brought vp so idelly in theyr youthe, where if they had ben wel educated and brought vp in some good litterature, occupation, or misterye, they shulde (beinge rulers of theyr owne familie) haue profyted as well them selfe, as dyuers other persons, to the great commoditie and ornamentes of the common weale.[4]

At the threshold of the Reformation we find this insistence upon the teaching of youth so that age may be enlightened and useful. So those who are responsible for youth, including the curates themselves, are to see that they learn the elements of doctrine in the mother tongue even from their infancy. A system is sketched whereby the curate may perform his share of this duty. The primary reason for emphasizing these particular religious materials is clearly indicated in Marshall's *Primer* of 1535.

It was neuer ordeyned, o good reder, without the singler prouidence, and moste abundaunt grace of almyghtie god, that the multitude of christen people, shuld lerne by herte the ten cōmaundementes of almightie god, and the beleue, called the Crede, the prayer of the lorde, called the Pater noster. For truely he that vnderstandeth these thre, hath the pythe of all those thynges, whiche holy scripture doth conteyne, & what soeuer may be taught necessarily vnto a faythfull christian, and that not only purely and plētifully, but therto so briefly and clerely, that no man can compleyne, or excuse hym selfe iustly.[5]

This material was regarded as an absolute minimum essential for all christians. King Henry is merely insisting that the child must get these essentials at once, and hence in the only language he understands, English.

These materials had long formed a traditional part of the primers for children. The primer had been "the *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis,* or Book of Hours, the best-seller of medieval devotional books."[6] Bishop Hilsey suggests in 1539 that the book was called a primer "bycause (I suppose) y^{t} it is the fyrst

[4]University Microfilm 354 from Cambridge Library; *Short Title Catalogue,* 10085. Cf. Wilkins, David, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae,* Vol. III, p. 814; Frere, W. H., and Kennedy, W. M., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation,* Vol. II, pp. 6-7. See also their note 1, p. 7; also their prefatory note, pp. 1-2.

[5]U. M. 2002 from *B. M.,* C. 25. g. 17; *S. T. C.* 15988; cf. also U. M. 2000; Burton, E., *Three Primers,* pp. xxiii-xxiv.

[6]Birchenough, Edwyn, "The Prymer in English," *The Library,* Fourth Series, Vol. XVIII, p. 177.

boke that ye tender youth was instructed in."[7] His idea is that "the Horae came to be called the Prymer, because it was the *Primus liber* of the medieval schoolboy."[8] Whatever the derivation of the word, that was the traditional fact. The pre-Reformation materials are summed up on July 20, 1526 for the chaplain-schoolmaster at the chantry school of Childrey, and their place in the church system is also indicated.

> In the first place he should teach the boys the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation of the Angel, and the Apostles' Creed, and all other things necessary for serving the priest at mass, together with the psalm *De Profundis* and the collects together with the prayers customary for the dead, also he should teach them to say grace as well at dinner as at supper. Then he should teach the aforesaid boys in English the 14 articles of faith, the 10 Commandments of God, the 7 mortal sins, the 7 sacraments of the church, the 7 gifts of the Holy Spirit, the 7 works of mercy, as well corporal as spiritual, the 5 bodily senses, and the manner of confession, all which he judged and considered necessary not only for the boys themselves but for all other families and persons where they resided, in order that they might instruct those who were ignorant in the premises.[9]

It will be noticed that the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments are here included. Most of the materials demanded, including those "To helpe a prest to syng", are to be found in the *ABC* printed by Thomas Petyt in the next decade.[10] The other materials would be supplied by a primer. The first objective of literacy had traditionally been a mastery of the minimum religious materials requisite for the soul's health. King Henry in 1536 establishes authoritatively what this minimum is, and orders that it be taught to children in English.

It will be remembered that according to King Henry's injunctions of 1536 the Curates were not only to expound these religious materials but also to "delyuer the same in writinge, or shewe where printed bokes conteyninge the same be to be solde, to them that can reede, or wyll desyre the same." This would necessitate an approved form, which was soon supplied in *The Institution of a Christen Man.* In 1536, Convocation published certain articles of religion by Henry's authority to

[7]U. M. 2020 from Huntington 62241; *S. T. C.* 16009; Burton, *Three Primers,* p. 321. [8]Birchenough, *Prymer,* p. 177.
[9]Victoria County Histories, *Berkshire,* Vol. II, p. 275.
[10]See the facsimile by E. S. Shuckburgh; also U. M. 1725.

procure uniformity.[11] Then in 1537 it proceeded to produce an *Institution of a Christen Man.* This type of book in England traces through the *Christiani Hominis Institutum,* which Erasmus wrote for Dean Colet's boys at St.Paul's, and which many of these reverend gentlemen of Convocation would hold in memory. This work of Erasmus was regularly attached in early days to the Cato which Erasmus had prepared for grammar school. Incidentally, the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* of Erasmus is a wholly different work, though some have been confused by the similarity of titles. The *Institutum* first expanded in Latin verse the twelve articles of the Creed, then the Seven Sacraments, and finally versified under some twenty headings admonitions to virtue and against vice.

The same idea underlay *The Institvtion of a Christen Man, Conteynynge the Exposytion or Interpretation of the commune Crede, of the seuen Sacramentes, of the .x. commandementes, and of the Pater noster, and the Aue Maria Justyfication & Purgatory,* the first part of this title being almost certainly an echo of that of Erasmus. In its preface to Henry, Convocation explains that whereas he in his zeal

towardes thaduauncement of goddis glorie, & the right instytution and education of your people in the knoweledge of Christis trewe relygion, your hyghnesse commaunded vs nowe of late, to assemble our selfes togyther, and vppon the diligent serche and pervsynge of holye scripture, to sette forthe a playne and syncere doctrine, concernynge the hole summe of all those thynges, whyche appertayne vnto the profession of a Chrysten man, that by the same all errours, doubtes, superstytions, and abuses myght be suppressed, remoued, and vtterly taken away, to the honour of almighty god, and to the perfite establyshyng of your said subiectes in good vnitie and concord, and perfyte quietenes bothe in theyr sowles and bodyes. . . . And thervpon callynge to our remembraunce, howe the hole pithe and summe of all those thinges, whiche be at greatte lengthe conteyned in the hole canon of the Bible, and be of necessitie required to thattaynynge of euerlastynge lyfe: was sufficiently, exactely, and therwith shortly and compendiousely comprehended in the .xii. Articles of the cōmune crede, called thapostels crede, in the .vii. sacramentes of the church, in the ten cōmandementes, and in the prayer of our lord, called the *Pater noster.* And considering therfore, that if your highnes people were perfitly instructed and lerned in the right knowlege and vnderstanding of the same, they shulde not only be hable easily to perceyue and vnderstand, & also to lerne by harte and beare away the

[11]Wilkins, *Concilia,* Vol. III, pp. 817-823.

hole effect and substance of al those thinges, which do appertayne and be necessarie for a christen man, eyther to beleue, or to do, but also that all occasyons myght therby be remoued, whiche by any colour or visage haue caused any of them to fall or to be offended: we haue after longe & mature consultation, had amonges vs, compiled a certaine treatise, wherin we haue employed our hole study, and haue therin truely & purely set forthe and declared in our mother tongue, the very sense & meanynge, and the very righte vse, vertue, and efficacie of all the said foure partes . . . we haue fyrste of all begonne with the *Crede* . . . And afterwarde we haue entreated of the institution, the vertue, and right vse of the seuen sacramentes. And thirdly we haue declared the ten cōmandementes, & what is conteyned in euery one of theym. And fourthly we haue shewed the interpretation of the *Pater noster,* whervnto we haue also added the declaration of the *Aue Maria.* And to thintent we wolde omytte nothyng, conteyned in the boke of articles, deuised and sette forthe this last yere, by your highnes lyke commandement: we haue also added in the ende of this treatise, the article of *Iustification,* and the article of *Purgatorie,* as they be in the sayd boke expressed.[12]

Here is the prescription, and King Henry proceeded at once to a method of administering the health-giving medicine. In September 1538 through Cromwell he issued injunctions which included one on the fundamentals of this matter.[13]

Item that ye shall euery sondaye and holydaye throughe the yere openly and playnly recite to your parishoners twyse or thryse to gyther or oftener if nede requyre, one particle or sentēce of the Pater noster or crede in Englishe, to thintent they may lerne the same by harte. And so from day to day to geue them one lyke lesson or sentence of the same, tyll they haue lerned the hole Pater noster and Crede in Englyshe by rote. And as they be taught euery sentence of the same by rote, ye shal expounde and declare the vnderstandynge of the same vnto them exhortynge all parentes and householders to teache theyr children and seruauntes the same, as they are bounde in conscience to do. And that done ye shall declare vnto them the .x. cōmaūdementes one by one euery sonday & holiday tyll they be lykewyse *per*fite in ye same.[14]

This becomes the basis of all later regulations of the sort in the century. It will be noticed that it is at first aimed at all parishioners, including children. This is a system of universal education in English. All people are to learn these elements of faith, of which an authorized form has been prepared.

[12]U. M. 896 from *B. M.,* C. 38. f. 21; *S. T. C.* 5163; Wilkins, *Concilia,* Vol. III, pp. 830-831.

[13]Procter, F. and Frere, W. H., *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer,* p. 30; not 1536 as dated in Wilkins, *Concilia,* Vol. III, p. 815.

[14]U. M. 342 from *B. M.* (imp.); *S. T. C.* 10086; cf. also U. M. 358 from Cambridge University; *S. T. C.* 10087.

The following item was also to become standard.

Item that ye shall in confessions euery Lent examyn euery person that cometh to confession to you, whither they can recite tharticles of our faythe and the Pater noster in Englishe, and here thē say the same particularly, wherin if they be not perfite ye shal declare to the same that euery christen person ought to knowe them before they shulde receyue the blessed sacrament of thaulter, and monyshe them to lerne the same more perfitely by the nexte yere folowinge/or els, lyke as they ought not to presume to come to goddes boorde without perfite knowlege of the same, and if they do, it is to the great peryll of theyr soules: So ye shall declare vnto them that ye loke for other Iniunctions from the Kynges highnes by that tyme to stay and repell all suche from goddes boorde as shalbe founde ignorant in the premisses/wherof ye do thus admonyshe them, to thintent they shuld bothe eschewe the peryll of theyr soules, and also the worldly rebuke that they might incurre hereafter by the same.[15]

The Decalogue is soon regularly included also in this injunction. Bishop Rowland Lee had in his injunctions for Coventry and Lichfield c. 1537 included these injunctions, and they become regular.[16]

Archbishop Edward Lee of York shows in his injunctions of c. 1538 how he wished to have these matters attended to.

Item, Everie Curate shall provyde to have the Booke compyled by the King's Highnes Commaundiment, namyde *Thinstitution of a Christen Man,* with all convenient Speyde, as soon as the saide Book shall come forth by his Commaundment: And in the same shall daylie read Two Chapitores, so that he may be able to declare the same to his Parochians.

Item, All Curates and Heades of Congregacions, Religiouse and not Religiouse, Privileged and not Privileged, shall, accordinge to the Kyng's Highnes Commaundiment and Injunctions, everie Holie Day, at Mattens Time, and betwene Mattens and Laudes, read the *Pater Noster,* and the *Ave Maria* in *Englishe,* treateabli and distincelie, and cause all theire Parochians, whiche cannot all redy say it in *Englyshe,* yonge and olde, to reherse everie Petecion by it selfe, to thend therof, after them; and in lykewise everi Holy Day, at Masse, and immediatlie after the Crede, shall rehers everie Article of the Crede by it selfe, and so shall cause the Parochians to rehers after them, everie one by it selfe, to thende, and likewise every Holy Day, at Even-Songe, betwene Even-Songe and Completorie, shall rehers the Tenne Commaundements, every one by it self, and so cause his Parochians to rehers after him, every one by it selfe, to thende, to thentente that they may lerne perfectelie all Three. And for this Purpose, the saide Curates, and oder Heades of the Congregacion, must give Warninge to thaire Parochians, that none of them

[15]*Ibid.* [16]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. II, pp. 20-21.

be absent at such Times as any of the saide Three shall be rehersed. And shall furthermore declare unto them, that they shall not be admytted to resave the Blessed Sacrament of the Alter at *Easter,* tyll they can perfectlie reherse them all Three by Rote: And therfore everie Gostelie Father, accordinge to the King's Injunctions, muste everie *Lent* examen ther Parochians, in Time of Confession, to knowe wheder they have learned the Premisses perfytly, or not.

. . . .

Item, All Curates muste cause one Booke, comprisinge the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* in *Englishe,* the Crede and the Tenne Commaundements in *Englishe,* to be set upon a Table in the Churche openlie, that all Men may reasorte to learne them, at all such Tymes as they woll. And this to be done, within Twentie Days after the Puplication hereof.

. . . .

Item, They must charge all the Faders and Moders, and Heades of Howseholdes, and Gode-Fatheres, and Gode-Motheres, and Scoole-Maystres, accordinge to the King's Highnes Injunctions, to see theire Children, Servantes and Scoleres, well instructe in the *Pater Noster, Ave Maria,* Crede, and Tenne Commandiments in *Englishe,* and all oder Thinges compprised in theis Injunctions.[17]

Now everyone must be able to say the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo, and Decalogue in English before he may receive the sacrament, and must teach the same to the children. A routine is laid down by which the Curates and Heads of Congregations are to teach their parishioners in connection with the church services, and are to encourage those who could read to memorize also from the book. Fathers, mothers, heads of households, Godfathers, Godmothers, and schoolmasters are to see that children, servants, and scholars under their care learn these materials. No one is to escape the memorizing of these fundamental religious materials in English. Convocation had provided these basic materials in English together with an authoritative exposition of them in *The Institution of a Christen Man,* which is consequently ordered to be made available.

The Bishop of Exeter in the same year of 1538 not only enjoins the general interpreting of these elements as in the *Institution,* and the requirement of them for "the blessed sacra-

[17]Burnet, Gilbert, *The History of the Reformation* (1733), Vol. III, *Collection,* pp. 103-105; Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. II, pp. 44-49.

ment of the altar" as Cromwell had done, but proceeds further to enjoin,

Also that all chantry priests, soul priests, and other stipendiaries within my said diocess, in the avoiding of idleness, the nourisher of all vice, from henceforth diligently endeavour themselves to instruct the children of the parishes, where they dwell, in vertue, teaching them especially their Pater noster, Ave Maria, and Creed, the Ten Commandments, with the seven works of mercy, in the English tongue, or in the Cornish, where the English tongue is not used.[18]

The petty teachers within the church itself are now ordered to teach these fundamental materials in the vernacular.

Those church officials who had readjusted the whole church and school machinery adopted this religious standard for petty school and consequent entrance to grammar school. At the refoundation of Canterbury in 1541, it was provided that "No one shall be admitted into the school who cannot read readily, or does not know by heart in the vernacular the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments."[19] Exactly the same requirements are found at Worcester on July 31, 1544.[20] Since the school course survives for only these two but is uniform for them, and since the other statutes are uniform for all these refounded schools, with but slight necessary adaptation to local conditions,[21] it is apparent that by 1541 this was the standard set or intended to be set by governmental officials for entrance to all cathedral grammar schools. Since these same officials set the standards for other grammar schools also, this is in fact the standard for all grammar schools in England. It was the prime business of petty school to inculcate these official elements of the faith, and the boy must have them before he could enter grammar school.

King Henry instructed a Convocation which began January 20, 1542 to examine the translation of both the old and new Testaments into English with a view to a "reformed" version. Such a review naturally involved the proper translation of these fundamental religious materials.

January the 20th, 1541. [i.e., 1542] began a new Convocation. . . . In this Synod also, the good Archbishop [Cranmer] . . . moved the trans-

[18]Wilkins, *Concilia,* Vol. III, p. 844.
[19]Leach, A. F., *Educational Charters,* p. 465.
[20]V. C. H., *Worcestershire,* Vol. IV, p. 483.
[21]*The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham* (Surtees Society, 1929), pp. 142 ff and notes for comparison of statutes.

lating into *English* the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles Creed, and the Ten Commandments . . . [February 17 from Synod of February 14] Discourse also was entred into of some other things to be reformed: As, concerning the Lord's Prayer, the Angel's Salutation, the Creed, the Ten Commandments: Namely, of teaching them the People, and ordinary Sort . . . All these good Things, and divers more, were now in Hand in this Convocation, by the pious Zeal of Archbishop *Cranmer.* But the Success answered not in the House.[22]

Results, however, were later attained in this particular matter.

Another Session of a former Convocation began *April* 20. 1543. Now they were concerned, as it seems, in a diligent Review of a former good Book, called, *The Institution of a Christen Man.* For it appears by certain Extracts of the Register, that in several Sessions, after the Correction of the Translation of the *Pater Noster,* the *Ave Mary,* and the Ten Commandments in the *English* Tongue, and the Sacraments of Baptism, and the Eucharist: the *English* Interpretation whereof being examined and corrected by the most Reverend the Archbishop, and the Bishops of *Winton, Roffe* and *Westminster;* they were delivered to the Prolocutor, Dr. *Gwent.* And the next Day, the like was done touching the Five First Commandments, and the Exposition of them by the said Four Bishops. And on another Day were expounded, examined, and revised by the most Reverend the Archbishop, and the Bishops of *Westminster, Roffe, Sarum* and *Hereford,* the other Five latter Commandments, and the Sacraments of *Baptism* and the *Eucharist* . . . This produced a Second Edition enlarged of the *Institution,* and was called, *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man.*[23]

The translation of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer so printed in 1543 passed into King Henry's *Primer,* 1545, and its dependents. Thus the authorized and required *ABC* would now supply these materials in the official translation, and so by 1545 the whole lower school system through *ABC, Primer,* and grammar had been brought to the official uniformity which was begun long before.[24] The process was in fact complete by 1543.

It will be well to notice briefly here a few facts concerning the past history of the official translation of these elements as finally authorized in the King's Book of 1543, and later in the King's Primer of 1545. The injunctions of 1537 had already

[22]Strype, John, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (1733), Vol. I, pp. 371-2; Wilkins, *Concilia,* Vol. III, p. 861. [23]*Ibid.,* pp. 377-8; Wilkins, *Concilia,* Vol. III, p. 868.
[24]Further details will be found in *Small Latine and Lesse Greeke.*

elicited a form of translation to meet the need which had been created. "The Pater noster. ye Crede. & the cōmaundementes of god in englysh, with many other godly lessons/ryght necessary for youth & al other to lerne & knowe: accordyng to the commaūdement & Iniūctions gyuen by thauctorite of the kynges hyghnes through this his realme," printed by John Byddell in 1537.[25] This claims to be the authorized form for children, and further emphasizes the claim by taking up most of the title-page with the royal coat of arms. As the title indicates, the required elements are in English translation. The commentaries upon these elements, as also the preface, are only slight adaptations of those to be found in Marshall's *Primer,* 1535, but occur in a different order. Various other godly lessons are then attached as the title-page indicates. The translation of the elements is not that to be found in the *Institution* of the same year, as authorized by the Bishops. It appears, however, to be an adaptation of that found in Marshall's *Primer,* 1535.

The title of this series was slightly changed in 1539, and the translation of the elements was revised. "The Pater noster/the Aue/Crede, and .x. Cōmaūdemētes of god in Englishe with many other godly lessyōs Ryght necessary for youthe and all other to lerne and knowe accordynge to the comaūdemēt & Iniuncyons: gyuen by thauctoryte of the kīges hyghnes: throughe this his realme."[26] The same translation is to be found in "The Primer in english most necessary for the education of children extracted out of the Manual of prayers or Primer in english and latin, set forth by Jho. late Bishop of Rochester at the commandment of the right honorable Lord Thomas Crumwell, Lord privy seal, Vice-gerent to the king's highness . . . Cum privilegio imprimendum solum."[27] This is extracted from a work of 1539. Since both of these works of 1539 for children have the same translation of these elements, it is clear that some unifying force is at work. This becomes more apparent when

[25]U. M. 2238 from Bodleian, 1. g. 108; *S. T. C.* 16820. There is also an edition of probably 1538; see U. M. 2239 from Cambridge Library, Syn. 8 53. 44; *S. T. C.* 16821. [26]U. M. 1461, from *B. M.,* C. 25. b. 24; *S. T. C.* 16819.

[27]Hoskins, E., *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis,* No. 144, p. 233. U. M. 2022 from *B. M.,* C. 35. b. 13: *S. T. C.* 16011. Neither in the Latin-English nor in the English form of the *Primer* of 1539, from which this *Primer* is extracted is there an *ABC* (Latin-English, dated July 15, 1539, Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 142, p. 51; U. M. 2020 from Huntington 62241; *S. T. C.* 16009; cf. U. M. 2241 (Inc.). English in Burton, *Three Primers*).

we find that this translation of the Lord's Prayer and of the Creed is the one which is used in 1543. The Decalogue of 1539, however, was considerably revised for 1543. The translation of 1543 was then used in 1545. The *ABC,* which forms the first part of the volume of c. 1539 from Hilsey is likely also to have been published separately, but I know of no copy.

The *ABC* alone as represented by Edward's own copy in 1543[28] was a single quarto signature containing the alphabet and religious materials in Latin, with English translation. These were the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation,[29] the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, a prayer for devout fear, another for aptitude to learn godliness, and a verse from *James,* "Euery good gifte." The first section of the authorized *Primer* of 1545, after the preliminaries and calendar, consisted of exactly the same materials, except that the alphabet or ABC proper is not given and that the Graces are substituted for the prayers and the verse from James.

We must now notice still another *ABC* and *Primer,* which is supposed to date so early as about 1537. As Hoskins has noted, all the items of the *ABC* of the *Primer* of 1545 from Lord's Prayer through Graces[30] are the same as those to be found in "The Primer in english for children after the use of Sarum," which he dates about 1537.[31] This material in the *Primer* of supposed 1537 is preceded by an alphabet, to make an *ABC* in full form, while the *Primer* of 1545 lacks this alphabet only of a conventional *ABC.* Each of these thus really consists of an *ABC* and a *Primer,* as was regular in primers intended for children. If the date of c. 1537 is anything like correct, then the text of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Decalogue decided upon in 1543 is the text of this form, with but slight textual differences, and the *ABC* as a whole of this form is but slightly adapted to become the *ABC* of 1545. But in view of the known facts of the evolution of the text of these elements to 1543 one would suspect that this *ABC* and *Primer* is in fact not earlier than 1543. Why Hoskins places it so early as c. 1537 I do not

[28]In the British Museum, bound with his copy of Lilly's Latin grammar, the whole being printed on vellum; *B. M.,* C. 21. G. 4 (1).

[29]This was soon to be dropped as "superstition."

[30]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 174, p. 239; U. M. 2037 from *B. M.,* C. 35. c. 15; *S. T. C.* 16034; cf. U. M. 2039 and 2040, etc.

[31]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 131, p. 173; U. M. 2011, from Bodl. Douce B. 230; *S. T. C.* 16000.

know. I suppose he is going by the fact that "St. Thomas occurs in the Kalender on December 29. and also in the Litany," whereas King Henry had ordered him ousted in 1538. But in a series printed by Petyt 1542-4, St. Thomas regularly occurs in the Litany, though not in the Calendar. It will require a close examination, therefore, to determine the date of this *ABC* and *Primer*.

We have now sketched the background for King Henry's authorized *Primer* of 1545. In the Preface to this *Primer*, King Henry explains

AND forasmuche as wee haue bestowed right greate labour & diligēce aboute settyng a perfeicte staigh in ye other partes of our religiō: wee haue thought good to bestowe our earnest labour in this parte also, beeyng a thyng as fruictefull as the best, that men maie knowe, bothe what thei praie, & also with what woordes. . . .

IN cōsideratiō wherof we haue sette out & geuē to our subiectes a determinate fourme of praiyng in their owne mother toūg, to thentente that suche as are ignoraunt of any straūge or forē speche, maie haue what to praie in their owne acquainted & familiar lāguage with fruicte & vnderstāding: & to thēde y^t^ thei shal not offre vnto God (beeyng the sercher of ye reines & hertes) neither thynges standyng clene against true religion & godlynesse, nor yet woordes ferre out of their intelligēce and vnderstandyng. NEVERTHELESSE to thentente that suche as haue vnderstādyng of the latine toung, & thinke that thei cā with a more feruēt spirite make their praiers in that toūg, maie haue wherin to dooe their deuocion to God beyng none acceptour neither of any persone ne toung: we haue prouided theself same fourme of praiyng to be sette foorth in latin also, whiche we had afore published in englishe, to thētente, that we would bee all thynges to all persones, & that all parties maie at large bee satisfied, and as well the willes & desire of theim that perceiue bothe tounges as also the necessitee and lacke of theim that dooe not vnderstāde the latin AND wee haue iudged it to bee of no small force for ye auoidyng of strife and contēciō, to haue one vniforme maner or course of praiyng throughout all our dominions: and a veraie greate efficacie it hath to stirre vp the feruētenesse of ye mynde, if the confuse maner of praiyng bee somewhat holpen with the feloship or annexion of vnderstādyng: if the feruentenesse of the praier beeyng well perceiued dooe put awaie ye tediousnesse or faintyng of the mynde beeyng otherwyse occupied & turned frō praier: if the plēteousnesse of vnderstādyng dooe nourishe and fede the burnyng heate of the herte: & finally, if the cherefulnesse of earnest minding ye matier put clene awaie all slouthfulnesse of the mynde tofore gathered. WHEREFORE as greate as our will and forewardenesse hath been to set foorth and publishe these thynges, so greate ought your diligēce and industrie to bee towardes well & fruictefully

vsing thesame, that when al thynges hath been prepared and sette foorth to the glorie of God & for your welthe: your selfes onely maie not bee slacke or negligente towarde your owne behouf and towarde your owne benefites.[32]

The chief purpose of the *Primer* is to furnish "one vniforme maner or course of praiyng throughout all our dominions." This praying by the laity was ordinarily to be done in English, since most people understood no other language. But a Latin translation of this uniform system was provided for all the prayer by the laity, common or private, unlearned or learned.

Then King Henry addresses an injunction "for the autorisyng and establishyng the vse of this Primer" to all his subjects, dividing into the different degrees of the clergy, all estates and degrees of the laity, and finally in a squinting third division "teachers of youthe." For youth is here predominant. If youth be trained, age cannot long remain ignorant. Youth, therefore, is the chief objective here, and unlearned elders a secondary one.

Emong the manyfolde busines, and moste weightie affaires appertainyng to our regall authoritee and office, we muche tenderyng the youthe of our realmes, (whose good educacion and vertuous bryngyng vp redouneth most highly to the honoure & prayse of almightie God) for diuers good consideracions, & specially for that the youth by diuers persones are taught the Pater noster, the Aue maria, Crede, and .x. cōmaundementes all in Latin and not in Englishe, by meanes wherof the same are not brought vp in the knowledge of their faith, dutye and obedience, wherin no Christen person ought to be ignoraunt. And for that our people and subiectes whiche haue no vnderstādyng in the Latin tong and yet haue the knowledge of readyng, may praye in their vulgare tong, whiche is to them best knowen: that by the meane therof they shuld be the more prouoked to true deuotion, and the better set their heartes vpon those thinges that they pray for. And fynally, for the auoydyng of the dyuersytie of primer bookes that are nowe abroade, wherof are almoost innumerable sortes whiche minister occasion of contentions & vaine disputations, rather then to edifye, and to haue one vniforme ordre of al such bokes throughout all our dominions, bothe to be taught vnto chyldren, and also to be vsed for ordinary praiers of al our people not learned in the Latin tong: haue set furth this Primer or booke of praiers in Englishe to be frequented and vsed in and throughout al places of our said realmes and dominions aswell of theldre people, as also of the youth, for their cōmon and ordinarye praiers, willyng, cōmaundyng, and streightly chargyng, that for the better bringyng vp of youth in the knowledge of

[32]U. M. 2041 from *B. M.*, C. 25. b. 10. (1); *S. T. C.* 16040; Burton, *Three Primers*, pp. 440-441.

their dutye towardes God, their prince, & all other in their degre, euery scholemaster & bringer vp of yong beginners in learnyng, next after their A. B. C. nowe by vs also set furth, do teache this Primer or boke of ordinary praiers vnto them in Englishe, and that the youthe customably & ordinarily vse the same vntyl they be of cōpetent vnderstādyng and knowledge to perceyue it in Latin. At what tyme they may at their libertie either vse this Prymer in Englishe, or that whiche is by oure authorytie likewyse made in the Latyn tong, in all poinctes correspondent vnto this in Englishe.[33]

Again, the aim is to provide one authorized system of prayer. That system is in English, since that is the language which the majority already understand. But a Latin translation is provided for those who attain or have already attained Latin. The needs of children come first, since they are being formally taught the elements of religion. We are told that the materials which they are first taught are ordinarily "the Pater noster, the Aue maria, Crede, and .x. cōmaundementes all in Latin and not in Englishe." Consequently, these now form the first part of the *Primer* in English, while Graces are added, since they too were customary and it had been enjoined that they also were first to be learned in English. So the first section of the *Primer* is a conventional *ABC* but in English, not in Latin, and without the alphabet or ABC proper. This first part, or *ABC,* is set off from the remainder of the book in the table of contents and in the book itself. Nor does it occur in the Latin or in the Latin-English versions. It is overtly an English *ABC,* preceding a *Primer.* The second part, or the *Primer* proper, then furnishes prayers in English for all. Thus the system is clear as to its objectives. It furnishes a uniform system of prayer, first in English, both for youth and for unlearned age, then in Latin translation for advancing youth and the learned who understand that language. Consequently, the English book is so constructed as to care in its first section for the needs of youth in English, then for the needs of all.

King Henry refers to the alphabet with this religious material simply as the *ABC.* But we had best notice that the term ABC might in fact be used in various senses. It was primarily the alphabet or ABC only. But the vowels and syllables would ordinarily be attached, and even at the hornbook stage the

[33]U. M. 2037 from *B. M.,* C. 35. c. 15; *S. T. C.* 16034; Burton, *Three Primers,* pp. 457-8.

Lord's Prayer as something to which to apply these elements of knowledge. Other combinations of religious materials might be, and ordinarily were, attached. By the term ABC one might be referring only to the alphabet, or to the alphabet and elements of syllabication. But he might be referring to the whole collection attached to the ABC as was King Henry, and this might be of somewhat different forms. The form most common in Shakspere's day, however, and the form which he shows by his references that he used, was known as *The ABC with the Catechism,* as in fact it was primarily, though it had certain other materials attached.

These authorized religious materials of the *Primer,* some of which were ordinarily attached to the *ABC* also—these authorized religious materials and the authorized grammar determined the framework of the educational system through grammar school; hence were continued by Edward VI. This system had been at least adumbrated by Dean Colet at St. Paul's in his orders of 1518. Colet provided that his boys learn "ffirst aboue all the Cathechyzon in Englysh and after the accidence that I made . . . And thanne Institutum Christiani homines which that lernyd Erasmus made at my request."[34] One may see these religious matters as a preface to Colet's accidence in Wolsey's grammar of 1527.[35] Catechisms, religious materials, and grammar form the backbone of his system, as was to become the established and authorized custom.

The nuclear system as finally worked out under Henry VIII is summed up in the Injunctions of Edward VI in 1547. Edward by the advice of his dear uncle Somerset "doth minister vnto his louing subiectes, these Godly Iniūcciōs, hereafter folowing: wherof part were geuē vnto thē heretofore, by thaucthorite of his most derely beloued father, Kyng Henry the .VIII. of moste famous memory, & part are now ministred and geuen by his Maiestie."[36] The injunctions both of 1536 and 1538 have been used as a basis. So we meet in slightly different phraseology from 1538,

4. ITEM, that euery holy daye throughout the yere, when thei haue no sermō, thei shall īmediatly after the Gospel, openly & plainly, recite to

[34]Gardiner, R. B., *The Admission Registers of St. Paul's School,* pp. 382-3.
[35]Blach, S., "Shakespeares Lateingrammatik," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch,* Vol. XLIV, pp. 66 ff. [36]U. M. 399 from *B. M.,* 697. f. 1. (1); *S. T. C.* 10088.

their parishioners in the pulpit: The *Pater noster,* the *Credo,* and the tenne Commaundementes in Englishe, to the intent the people maye learne thesame by hart: exhortyng al parētes & housholders, to teache their chyldren and seruaūtes thesame, as thei are bound by the lawe of God, and in conscience to do.

This is followed by a rephrased item from 1536.

5. Item, that they shall charge fathers and mothers, Masters and gouernors, to bestowe their children and seruauntes, euen from their chyldhode, either to learning, or to some honest exercise, occupacion or husbandrye: exhortyng and counsaillyng, & by al the wayes and meanes they maie, aswel in their sermons and collacions, as otherwaies, perswadyng their sayd fathers and mothers, Masters, and other gouernors, diligently to prouide and forsee, that the youthe be in no maner of wise, brought vp in Idlenesse, least at any tyme afterwarde, for lacke of some crafte, occupacion, or other honest meane to liue by, they be driuen to fall to begging, stealyng, or some other vnthriftines: Forasmuche as we may dayly se, through sloth and ydlenes, diuerse valiaunt men fal, some to beggynge, and some to thefte & murdre, whiche after brought to calamitie and misery, do blame their parentes, frendes & gouernors, which suffered thē, to be brought vp so ydlely in their youthe, where, if they had been well broughte vp, in good learnyng, some occupaciō or craft, they should (beyng rulers of their awne houshold) haue proffited aswel thēselfes, as diuerse other persones, to the great commodite and ornament of the common wealth.

Another item is slightly rephrased from 1538.

9. Item, that they shall in confessions euery Lent, examine euery person, that cometh to cōfession to them, whether they can recite the articles of their faith, the *Pater noster,* and the tenne commaūdementes in Englishe, & heare thē saye thesame particularlie, wherin, if they be not perfite, they shall declare then, that euery christian personne, oughte to knowe the sayde thinges, before they should receyue the blessed Sacrament of the aulter, and monysh them to learne the said necessary thinges more perfitely, or els they ought not to presume to come to Gods bourde, without perfite knowledge, and will to obserue thesame; and if they do, it is to the great perill of their soules, and also to the worldly rebuke that they might incurre hereafter by thesame.

Finally, there is a new injunction, upon the authorized school system as it had come to be by 1545.

34. Also, that all maner of persones, whiche vnderstande not the Latin toungue, shal pray vpon none other Primer, but vpon that, whiche was lately setfurth in English, by aucthoritie of Kyng Henry the .VIII. of moste famouse memory. And that no teacher of youth, shall teache any other, then thesaied Primer. And all those whiche haue knowledge of the Latin toungue, shall praie vpon none other latin primer, but upon

that, whiche is likewise setfurthe by thesaied aucthoritie. And that all graces to be saied at diner and supper, shalbe alwaies saied in the Englishe toungue. And that none other grammer, shalbe taught in any Schoole or other place, within the kynges realmes and dominions, but onely that which is set furthe by thesaied aucthoritie.

35. ITEM that all Chauntrie Priestes, shall exercise theimselfes in teachyng youth to read and write, and bringyng them vp in good maners, and other verteous exercises.

There was a corresponding set of "Articles for Bishops, Archdeacons, Ecclesiastical Officers" to bring out these points in a general visitation of 1547.[37] As in 1536 and in 1538, the primary aim is to cause all people, young and old, to memorize in English the Creed, the *Pater Noster,* and the Decalogue in English. But now the authorized system of education for youth which had been evolved to provide these requisites is also specifically enjoined. Edward is continuing the complete framework of the school system as established by Henry VIII; the authorized grammar for grammar school, the authorized *Primer* and its concomitants for petty school. It will be noticed that Edward's order on the primer merely summarizes King Henry's injunction. But it does not mention specifically King Henry's *ABC,* since this was implied in requiring the *Primer.*

Some bishops devised ingenious methods of enforcing these primary regulations, for it appears that parents, etc., were not always any too diligent in performing this fundamental duty of getting the catechism memorized. So Archbishop Grindal, then of York, outlines a procedure in 1571 for procuring the proper cooperation. He directs:

And to the intent this thing may be more effectually executed, ye shall take the names of all the children, young men, maidens, and servants in your parish, that be above six years of age and under twenty, which cannot say the Catechism, and shall call by course certain of them by name, every Sunday and every holy day, to come to the Catechism, whereby you may easily note and observe what parents or masters be negligent in sending their children and servants to be instructed, and take occasion thereof, both privately and openly, to exhort them to send their youth as they are appointed, and shall present the refusers to the ordinary.[38]

Archbishop Grindal was determined that little boys like William Shakspere, then aged seven, should get their *Little*

[37] Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. II, pp. 103 ff.

[38] Grindal, Edmund, *Remains* (Parker Society), p. 125. Various other checks are also suggested.

Catechism, and we shall see that William did. Doubtless the authorities of Worcester and Canterbury had also been sufficiently insistent.

It will be noticed that there is a double objective throughout these early provisions. The fundamental aim is to teach the elements of faith in English to all who do not understand the Latin. This involved not only children but also a great many of the elders as well. Children were not to be confirmed till they learned these elements. Elders were exhorted to learn them also. King Henry's primer of 1545 shows this double objective in its very construction, as had other primers before it. As we have seen, its first part is an ABC and catechism, without either the ABC or the catechism. For the catechetical materials of this first part were also printed with the ABC as a separate publication, and developed into *An ABC with a Catechism.* The *ABC* of 1543 used by Edward himself and appearing in adapted form as the first part of King Henry's primer of 1545 had furnished in Latin and English the minimum essentials for confirmation, together with a few prayers, and there were further editions of the ABC and these materials. There was no accompanying catechism in this type to explain the meaning of these materials. Such a catechism in English appeared in the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549. Naturally, therefore, this catechism would also be published in the traditional combination with the ABC.

In this catechism, the translation of 1543 has received only trivial adjustments, mostly of word order, in the fourth, fifth, and seventh articles of the Creed, has changed "let us not be led" into "lead us not" in the Lord's Prayer, and has made some half-dozen small changes of phraseology in the Ten Commandments.[39] So far as I can see, these were intended to be, and are, literary improvements, especially for oral rendition. Thus the authorized translation of the basic materials of the *Little Catechism* had its inception in 1542 and came to print in *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man,* 1543.

In fact, the *Little Catechism* may be considered to be a somewhat more elementary successor to that work. There is at least

[39]Clay, W. K., *Private Prayers,* Elizabeth, pp. 16-17.

one telltale direct connection between the *Little Catechism* and the *Necessary Doctrine.* King Henry's preface to the latter had pointed out

There foloweth conueniently the declaration of the .x. commaũdementes, beyng by god ordeyned the high way, wherein eche man shuld walke in this lyfe, to finish fruitfully his iourney here, and after to rest eternally in ioy with hym. Whiche bycause we can not do of our selfe, but haue nede alwaies of the grace of god, as without whom we can neyther continue in this life, ne without his special grace do any thing to his pleasure, wherby to atteine the lyfe to come: we haue after declaration of the commaũdementes, expounded the .vii. petitions of our Pater noster, wherin be conteyned requestes and suites for all thynges necessary to a christen man in this present life.[40]

Following the Ten Commandments in the *Little Catechism,* and so in exactly the same transitional position we find:

My good sonne, knowe this, that thou arte not hable to do these thinges of thy self, nor to walke in the cõmaundementes of God and to serue him, without his speciall grace, which thou muste learne at all times to cal for by diligent prayer. Leat me heare therfore if thou canst say the Lordes prayer.[41]

It is clear that the one passage has been rephrased from the other. A point of special interest here is that Shakspere himself uses this doctrine, with its characteristic phrase "special grace."[42]

But in the form established in 1545, these catechetical materials without catechism are in combination with a conventional primer. For conventionally primers

contained a calendar, an almanack for finding the date of Easter and other movable feasts over a period of years, the Little Office of Our Lady, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Fifteen Gradual Psalms, the Litany of the Saints, the Office of the Dead, and the Commendations of Souls. To this basic structure were added other devotions both liturgical and popular.[43]

There were two uses for the Prymer. It contained a portion of the church services, for in those Spartan days it was customary to attend Matins and Lauds as well as Mass on Holidays of Obligation, and the Little Office was sung after the Canonical Office on such occasions. Further, besides masses being said for departed brethren, it was customary for Gilds to have the Office of the Dead said for them, so that those who attended with their Prymers were able to, and did, follow the

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[40]U. M. 899 from *B. M.,* C. 37. e. 12 (1); *S. T. C.* 5168; Strype, *Memorials* (1733), Vol. I, p. 379.

[41]*The booke of the common prayer,* 1549 (facsimile, 1896).

[42]See below, p. 173. [43]Birchenough, *Prymer,* p. 178.

service. At Mass the Prymer was of less use, for it rarely contains more than a few prayers to say at the Elevation or when receiving Communion, though some do contain the responses for a server. Primarily, however, the Prymer was a book of a liturgical nature for private use, and it was customary for the laity to say the office either at home or in church as a private devotion.[44]

King Henry had thus in 1545 provided in English the catechetical materials needed by all beginners as well as by some of the elders, in combination with a conventional primer needed eventually by youth as well as by age. This form was reprinted with slight necessary adaptations to 1549.[45] There was a different form of the primer about 1550,[46] but the first part of the only copy described is missing. Then in 1551 there was a realignment of the different forms in accordance with the changes connected with the *Book of Common Prayer.* King Henry's *Primer,* as reformed, was printed in 1551 with a title reading

The Primer set forth by the King's highness, and his clergy; to be taught, learned, and read of all his loving subjects, all other set apart; corrected according to the statute, made in the third and iiii. year of our sovereign Lord the King's Majesty's reign.[47]

There was also a second form of the primer, in which the old catechetical materials and their concomitants were replaced by the *Brief Catechism* of 1549 and its concomitants. The true nature of this type of primer is now overtly recognized by the title,

The Primer and Catechism, set forth by the King's highness, and his clergy; to be taught, learned, and read of all his loving subjects, all other set apart; corrected according to the statute, made in the third and iiii. year of our sovereign Lord the King's majesty's reign.[48]

The primer has now under the influence of the *Brief Catechism* become the *Primer and Catechism,* as this type had in fact long been the *Primer and ABC.*

At the same period the alphabet was also printed with the *Brief Catechism* to carry on another old combination. Such a form was printed in 1551 by Whytchurch as,

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[44]Birchenough, *Prymer,* p. 180.

[45]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 175, p. 244; No. 187, pp. 244-5; No. 188, p. 245; No. 193, p. 245; etc. [46]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 194, pp. 245-248.

[47]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 195, p. 248.

[48]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 196, p. 249, who notes, "See Statutes at large. ed. 1763. Vol. 2. p. 434. cap. 10. sec. v. An act for the abolishing and putting away of divers books and images." There was another edition of this in 1552 (Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 199, p. 69, and No. 199*, p. xxvii).

An A, B, C. wyth a catechisme, that is to saye an instruction to be learned of everye chylde before he be brought to be confyrmed of thee Bysshoppe, sette forth by thee Kinges Maiestye. Whereunto is also ioyned the Letany and suffrages wyth certayne Graces to be sayde at dyner and supper.[49]

This ABC and catechism makes an incipient start toward the later *Primer and Catechism* for schools by adding the litany and suffrages. Even before the *Brief Catechism* of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549, there was already a small catechism besides the catechetical materials in Powell's ABC of 1545-7.[50] So the need was already being recognized for a small catechism in connection with the ABC, and Whytchurch has taken the next logical step in the evolution of the type. He is also forecasting a coming type of school text by adding the litany and suffrages.

The revised form of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1552 then led to further realignment in 1553. It is ordered in 1553 that

all and every person, and persons, inhabiting within this realm, or any other the King's majesty's dominions, shall diligently and faithfully (having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent) endeavour themselves to resort to their Parish Church, or Chapel accustomed, or upon reasonable let thereof, to some usual place, where common prayer and such service of God shall be used in such time of let, upon every Sunday, and other days, ordained, and used to be kept as holy days, and then, and there to abide, orderly and soberly, during the time of the common prayer, preachings, or other service of God, there to be used and ministered, upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church.[51]

This is public worship, but,

Though it be appointed in the afore written Preface, that all things shall be read and sung in the Church in the English tongue, to the end that the congregation may be thereby edified; yet it is not meant, but when men say Morning and Evening prayer privately, they may say the same in any language that they themselves do understand.[52]

Consequently, the authorized primer of 1553 now becomes *The Primer: or Book of Private Prayer.* Its first part, after the calendar, consists of the conventional materials for confirma-

[49]Anders, H., "The Elizabethan ABC with the Catechism," *The Library,* Fourth Series, Vol. XVI, pp. 41-2.
[50]Anders, *ABC,* p. 41; U. M. 691 from *B. M.,* b. 11686; *S. T. C.* 20; there were other instances also.
[51]Ketley, J., *The Two Liturgies,* (Parker Society), pp. 213-214.
[52]*Ibid.,* p. 195.

tion, now in catechetical form, together with graces and personal prayers. The second part is "An Order Of Private Prayer For Morning And Evening Every Day In The Week, And So Throughout The Whole Year." This section takes up the bulk of the work and, as we have seen, was referred to as the fundamental object of it. A third section furnishes "The Collects For Sundays And Holy Days Throughout All The Year." A fourth section adds for good measure, "Sundry Godly Prayers For Divers Purposes." It was, in fact, a *Book of Private Prayer,* companion to the *Book of Common Prayer.* Its form, however, is still that of the old primer of 1545, with a catechism first and a primer afterward. Though it begins with the *Brief Catechism,* it does not indicate it in the title, but still retains the old term *Primer,* equating it, however, with *Book of Private Prayer,* which is the really significant term. The catechism of this form is, of course, now that of the *Book of Common Prayer,* with conventional additions of graces, etc., and its primer is also an assemblage of materials for private prayer from the same source. It is hardly, in fact, a primer in the old sense at all.

This essential nature of the work is recognized in the privilege of March 6, 1553, to William Seres for printing it.

> Because it is requisite to have some form of daily prayers to be used by children and others privately, "whiche cannot so convenyenlye use the hole ordre prescrybed in our boke of Common Prayers to the whyche is evere requysyte the hole boke of the byble," and William Seres of London, "stacyoner," has prepared at his great charges to print "certayne sortes of a primer" extracted out of the said Book of Common Prayer for the use of children and others not being ministers or curates of churches,

so Seres is granted the privilege for six years[53] of printing

> all manner of books of private prayers, called and usually taken and reputed for Primers, both in great volumes and little, which are and shall be set forth agreeable and according to the book of common prayers established by us in our high court of Parliament, any other privilege or license to the contrary notwithstanding.[54]

These primers are consciously planned as an abbreviated *Book of Common Prayer* for children and laymen.

Seres at once began to differentiate the needs of these two

[53] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls,* Edward VI, Vol. V, p. 50.
[54] Ketley, *Liturgies,* p. 359.

chief classes. He furnished the complete form in octavo, preceded by an extract of his privilege, without any echo of the preamble as to children.[55] He also prepared a form in sixteens, preceded by an extract of his privilege, including "Because it is requisite to have some uniform (*sic*) of daily prayers fit to be used privately, as of children and divers other our subjects," etc.[56] This form has already some adaptations to Queen Mary, who had in 1553 succeeded to the throne. Apparently it would have contained exactly the same materials as the larger format had it been completed under Edward. Thus Seres produced two formats, one general, the other for children. We shall see how Seres later proceeded still further to differentiate the form for children.

In this *Primer* of 1553, the fundamental materials are from the *Book of Common Prayer.* These primers, therefore, were of use only in case they were more convenient than the *Book of Common Prayer,* or in case one wished the supplementary materials. Consequently, these primers are not ordered as the old primer had been. While the *Primer or Book of Private Prayer* was said to be "nedeful to be used of al faythfull Christianes" and to be "auctorysed and set fourth by the Kinges maiestie, to be taughte, learned, redde and used,"[57] yet there is no order that it be used. It was authorized but not commanded, for it was only an assemblage of materials from the *Book of Common Prayer.* The *Book of Common Prayer* is now the fundamental. These other works, including the *Primer,* are merely convenient subdivisions for specific purposes.

What we need now to grasp clearly is the great change in liturgical habits caused by the *Book of Common Prayer.* The Preface to the first *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549 had expected that work more or less to revolutionize these liturgical habits.

> And if any would judge this way more painful, because that all things must be read upon the book, whereas before, by the reason of so often repetition, they could say many things by heart: if those men will weigh their labour, with the profit in knowledge, which daily they shall obtain

[55] Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 200, pp. 289 ff.
[56] Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 201, pp. 295 ff. This contained the "Grace before supper," which had been omitted from the preceding form.
[57] Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 200, p. 69.

by reading upon the book, they will not refuse the pain, in consideration of the great profit that shall ensue thereof.[58]

The *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549 really rendered a primer in the old sense unnecessary. The primer was thus supplanted in 1553 by a book of private prayer, which in turn found comparatively little use.

John Day had by March 25, 1553 established claims upon the catechisms in English. Strype's account may be quoted as a basis of discussion, though he misunderstood some of the documents which he quotes.

While the Parliament was sitting this Winter, a Synod also was held; wherein was framed and concluded, a Book of Articles of Religion, taken out of the Word of God, purified and reformed from the Errors of Popery, and other Sects. "But it was in the Month of *May, Anno* 1553. (I transcribe out of the *Warrant Book*) that these Articles, agreed upon by the Bishops, and other learned Men, in the Synod at *London,* in the Year of our Lord 1552. for avoiding of Controversy in Opinions, and the Establishment of a godly Concord, in certain Matters of Religion, were published by the King's Commandment." And a Book, containing these Articles, was then signed by the King's own Hand.

A *Catechism* for the Instruction of Children in the Fundamentals of true Religion, passed the said Synod: But who was the Author, was not known in those Days. Bishop *Ridley* was charged to be the Author and Publisher thereof, by *Ward* and *Weston,* in the Disputation with him at *Oxford.* Who falsely also told him, That *Cranmer* had said so, but the Day before. *Ridley* declared, he was not, and that *Cranmer* would not say so. But he confessed, that he saw the Book, perused it after it was made, and noted many Things for it. And so consented to the Book. *Weston* then told *Ridley,* that he made him at the Synod to subscribe it, being then a Bishop, as he said, in his Ruff. But *Ridley* replied, he compelled no Man to subscribe. Indeed he set his Hand to it: and so, he said, did *Cranmer:* And that then it was given to others of the Convocation to set their Hands, but without Compulsion. *Ward* then would have framed an Argument out of this Catechism against *Ridley,* to prove that tho' Christ was ascended into Heaven, yet he might be on Earth: and so consequently in the Sacrament: and then quoted a Passage out of it, *Si visibiliter & in terris,* &c.

What I have to say more of this Catechism is, that it seems to have been published in *English,* as well as in *Latin,* that *John Day* printed it, and licensed to come abroad 1552. For, according to the Warrant Book, "In *September,* 1552. a License was granted to the same Printer, to print it both in *Latin* and *English,* the King having caused it to be set forth." But it was not printed before 1553. And the Reason it was so long

[58]Ketley, *Liturgies,* p. 19.

between the License and the Publication, (Half a Year, and more) I conjecture was, because it was thought fit to have the Allowance first of the Convocation, for the giving it the greater Countenance and Authority. It was certainly writ by *Alexander Noel,* as I find by comparing *Noel's* Catechism and this together. The *Collocutores* are in both Catechisms the same, *viz. Magister* and *Auditor.* And in many Places, the very same Questions and Answers are given *verbatim;* only *Noel*'s Catechism published under Queen *Elizabeth,* is larger much. In *May* the next Year, *viz.* 1553. the Council sent their Letters abroad in behalf of this Catechism, enjoining it to be taught to Scholars, *As the Ground and Foundation of their Learning,* as it is expressed in the Warrant Book.[59]

The Convocation to which Strype refers was called January 5 to convene March 2, 1553.[60] The King's order of May 20, 1553 put the *Short Catechism* into effect,[61] and the articles which had been decided upon in this Synod of 1552 (old style) were in print attached. Day printed only the English, and Wolfe printed the Latin, since Wolfe had a privilege for all Latin books. Day quotes the privilege under which he is printing. It dates March 25, 1553, and grants Day, "as well this Catechism in English, which we have caused to be set forth for the better instruction of youth, to be taught in English Schools, as also an A. B. C. with the Brief Catechism, already printed, any other privilege to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding."[62] Day also quotes the King's Injunction of May 20, 1553, as does Wolfe.[63]

It will be noticed that the "A. B. C. with the Brief Catechism" was "already printed" before March 25, 1553, though it is not directly stated that Day was the printer. But he is only now receiving license upon the English of this *Short Catechism,* which had just been passed by Convocation. It is thus clear that Strype was wrong in assuming that the license granted Day in September 1552 was for the *Short Catechism.* It could only have been for the *Brief Catechism* authorized and required in 1549. This was the only catechism which at that time "the King's Majesty hath caused to be set forth."[64] Further, the grant of September 1552 was immediately called in question as we learn from a note of Cecil's October 2, 1552,

[59]Strype, *Memorials* (1733), Vol. II, pp. 368-9; cf. p. 517.
[60]Wilkins, *Concilia,* Vol. IV, p. 73; cf. p. 79 and Strype, *Memorials* (1733), Vol. II, pp. 421-2, 521. [61]Wilkins, *Concilia,* Vol. IV, p. 79.
[62]Ketley, *Liturgies,* p. 487. [63]*Ibid.,* pp. 493-4, 544.
[64]Strype, *Memorials* (1733), Vol. II, p. 517.

Item, That where one *Dey* hath the Priviledg for the Cathechisme, and one *Reyne Wolf,* who hath a former Priviledge for all *Latyn* Books, they bothe may joyne in pryntyng of the said Cathechisme.[65]

Day was to print the English only of "the Cathechisme," and Wolfe the Latin, this arrangement being followed thereafter till Wolfe's death. Thus Day's license to print the *Brief Catechism* dates from September 1552. In December 1582 Christopher Barker says that Day bought this catechism from Richard Jugge,

The small Catechisme alone, taught to all lyttle children of this Realme is taken oute of *the booke of common prayer,* and belongeth to me also which master Jugge solde to Master Daye.[66]

Barker had succeeded Jugge, but gives no idea as to when Jugge sold the "small Catechisme alone" to Day. At any rate, it was Grafton and Whytchurch who had owned *The Book of Common Prayer* under Edward, and Whytchurch is known to have published the *Brief Catechism* in 1551. Directly or indirectly Day must have procured his right from one or both of them. For on April 22, 1547, Richard Grafton and Edward Whytchurch had received license and privilege to print all books

concerning divine service or containing any kind of sermons or exhortations that shall be used, suffered or authorised in our churches of England and Irelonde or either of them, by whatsoever name or names the same book or any of them be or shall be called, being in the English or Latin tongue.[67]

It was under this authorization that Whytchurch published the *Brief Catechism* and other materials from the *Book of Common Prayer,* attaching the ABC. But however he managed it, Day had procured the *Brief Catechism* by September 1552, and by March 25, 1553 had added the *Short Catechism* to it.

But still another publication is involved. Day in 1553, it will be remembered, was granted the "A. B. C. with the Brief Catechism, already printed." Now we happen to know that Day had also a license for the old style *ABC,* which had catechetical materials attached, since an imperfect copy of this form survives for him. Its title runs,

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[65]Haynes, S., *A Collection of State Papers* (1740), Vol. I, p. 128; *Hist. MSS. Comm.,* Calendar of the Manuscripts of the . . . Marquis of Salisbury, Part I, p. 99.
[66]Arber, *Transcript,* Vol. I, p. 116.
[67]*Calendar of the Patent Rolls,* Edward VI, Vol. I, p. 100.

The A. B. C. wyth the Lord's praier, the xii articles of the Christen fayth, and the x commandementes of almyghty God. Newly set foorth by the Kynges magestye. Commaundynge al teachers of youth wythin hys graces realmes to teach the same . . . Wherunto is added certayn graces to be sayd before dynner and supper. Imprynted at London by John Daye, wyth the Kynges most gracyous lycence and priviledge forbydding all other to printe the same A. B. C.[68]

It will be noticed that this is printed under privilege for the *ABC,* as technically it was, belonging to the old type; technically, it was not a catechism. This copy is not dated and Day's privilege, to which it refers, is not known.

The last man before Day now known to have printed the English *ABC* with catechetical materials was William Powell, but I do not know how he became possessed of it, if he was not merely printing for Grafton or Whytchurch, or how and when Day acquired it. Apparently, Day did not retain it under Elizabeth. For an entry S. R. 1558-9 refers to this old type of *ABC.* "Rychard lante ys lycensed to prynte *the A.B.C.* in englesshe."[69] Such an ABC survives for Lant undated, but "Licenced by the company,"[70] so later than this entry. It continued to be reprinted from time to time in the reign of Elizabeth, though not by Day.[71] Most of these reprints, however, were adapted forms, with several pages of reading exercises, or spelling and reading exercises attached to the ABC proper, before the catechetical materials. They thus have their analogies with Clement and Coote. But since Shakspere makes it clear that he used *The ABC with the Catechism,* I do not describe this type further.

It may be well to add that Strype's confidence in Nowell's authorship of the *Short Catechism* has not been shared by his successors. It appears now to be generally believed that Bishop John Poynet was the author, and that Nowell built upon his foundation.

The ABC with the elements of belief has now developed into *The ABC with the Catechism,* that catechism being from the *Book of Common Prayer.* The traditional *Primer* has been put into authorized form by King Henry VIII in 1545 and adapted

[68]Anders, *ABC,* pp. 42-3. [69]Arber, *Transcript,* Vol. I, p. 96.
[70]Herbert, William, *Typographical Antiquities,* Vol. I, p. 590.
[71]See Anders, *ABC;* also the form prepared by John Hart, etc.

under Edward to conform doctrinally to the *Book of Common Prayer.* A new form of primer has also been constructed under Edward directly from the *Book of Common Prayer.* These primers may be preceded by the *ABC* materials, or may be published without them. And the *Short Catechism* has been constructed as a more advanced text than the *Brief Catechism* of the *Book of Common Prayer.* A few more adjustments and the system will be set for centuries.

CHAPTER III

THE *PRIMER AND CATECHISM* OF SHAKSPERE'S DAY

THE DEATH OF EDWARD halted the progression of the *Primer.* It is useless for our present purpose to trace the reversion under Queen Mary. It was the aim of Queen Elizabeth to carry on where Edward left off, but it took some time to get the exact forms settled. The general system was to be the same as Edward's. Her Injunctions of 1559 continue Edward's Item 4 from Henry VIII's Injunctions of 1538 as her Item 5, injoining the church officials to teach the *Pater Noster, Credo,* and Decalogue every holiday. But the general charge to those responsible for children to see them educated as given by Henry VIII in 1536 and continued by Edward in 1547 does not appear. Nor is the requirement of the *Pater Noster, Credo,* and Decalogue for communion as in Henry VIII, 1538, and Edward VI, 1547, continued, since this was now provided for permanently in the *Book of Common Prayer.* Edward's requirement of certain authorized texts is rephrased by Elizabeth to amount to the same thing, as we shall see in detail later. Thus Elizabeth continues the system of Henry VIII and Edward.

Similarly, the various forms of primer, etc. authorized by Edward were continued and then adapted in authorized forms by Elizabeth. And first as to the forms that sprang from King Henry's *Primer* of 1545. To begin with, the forms authorized by statute and published in 1551 were reprinted with minor adaptations, mostly in order to fit them to a queen instead of a king. The old style primer of 1551 with catechetical materials was reprinted in 1559 with necessary adaptations, to fill the interim.[1] This *Primer* of 1559 says on its title-page that it was "Imprinted at London by the assignes of John Wayland" but in the colophon "Imprinted at London, by Wyllyam Seres, dwell-

[1]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 239, pp. 250-252; cf. Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 239,* pp. xxviii, 253. Reprinted in Clay, *Private Prayers,* Elizabeth. Clay notes "It may be remarked, as extremely singular, that none of the Puritans appear to have been aware of the Primer of Elizabeth containing Prayers for the Dead" (p. x n 1). The answer is, of course, that Clay has reprinted the wrong primer. He should have reprinted that of 1560.

yng at the West ende of Poules, at the sygne of the Hedgehog." Wayland held the privilege for primers under Mary, and Seres re-acquired it under Elizabeth. This edition is thus clearly a mere survival and interim form.

The corresponding form of *Primer and Catechism* of 1551[2] reprinted 1552,[3] was again reprinted, with necessary minor adaptations to Elizabeth about 1559[4] and about 1560.[5] There was a further adaptation of this *Primer and Catechism,* a copy of which bears this title,

The Primer and Catechism set forth at large wyth many godly praiers necessary for al faithfull Christians to read. Imprinted at London by Willyam Seres . . . cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1575. 8°, 369 pages, excl. the calendar.[6]

Since there is "An Almanack for ix. yeares," beginning 1566 and ending 1574, it is my guess that the volume was printed in 1566, the date on its title page, and calculated to cover the period to 1575, this being the reason for the date of 1575 in the colophon. If Seres had been reprinting an edition of 1566 in 1575, he would surely have altered that Calendar, which would at that time have been completely out of date. I shall, therefore, refer to this edition as of 1566 (1575).

As to the *Primer* itself, the edition of *c.* 1560[7] had omitted the end of the Dirige and apparently the Commendations.

The Dirige is the same as in No. 195. A. D. 1551, but omits at the end the collect "Almighty eternal God to whom there is never any prayer made without hope of mercy, be merciful to the souls of thy servants . . . Amen".

The edition of 1566 (1575) cuts the preceding section in addition, "O God whiche by the mouth . . . the world by fire. Amen." Then instead of the Commendations, the 1566 (1575) has "Psalmes or Prayers, Taken out of holye Scripture, very necessarie to be vsed." As Clay says,

The same Primer has, moreover, instead of "The Commendations," a translation of those fifteen Psalms, compiled by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, with the twenty-second and the hundredth Psalm, which are to be found in their original Latin, on pp. 318-352, of the present volume, constituting part of the *Preces Privatae* of 1573.[8]

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[2]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 196, pp. 249-50.
[3]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 199, p. 69, and No. 199,* p. xxvii.
[4]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 240, pp. 252-3. [5]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 245, pp. 256-7.
[6]Anders, *ABC,* p. 43. [7]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 245, pp. 256-7.
[8]Clay, *Private Prayers,* Elizabeth, p. x.

It also omits the "Psalmes of the Passion," and then proceeds as usual. It refers at the end to this changed makeup, "Thus endeth the Primer at large nowe newly Printed, with the Kinges Psalmes," though its table of contents is as usual. The first known edition of these psalms in translation, as it appears, dates 1544. The edition of 1568 adds to its title "Commonly called the kynges psalmes."[9] These "Kinges Psalmes", in the Latin, were also introduced, as Clay noted, into the corresponding *Preces Privatae* in 1573.

For the *Catechism* materials, the graces, which will be our principal interest in this edition, are also approximately the same as in the editions of *c.* 1559 and *c.* 1560.

The graces are the same as the first six in the 1553 edition, except that the second grace appears in full as in the King's *Primer* as far as "buckler and shield. an.," and ends with "God save the Queen and the Realm and send us peace in Christ. An."[10]

This type of *Catechism* had *c.* 1559 added three of the prose graces of 1553 to those of 1551. Thus the second grace of 1566 (1575), mentioned by Anders as an exception from 1553, is the same as the second of 1551 as it was revised under Elizabeth. The only apparent discrepancy from the type of *c.* 1559 and *c.* 1560 in the graces is the statement of Hoskins that all the graces of 1551 were there retained, while the third of those graces had been dropped in the first form of 1553 and does not appear in 1566 (1575). Hoskins may be in error, or this grace may have been dropped for 1566 (1575).

In connection with the edition of 1566 (1575), Anders says,

There was also a smaller edition (twenty lines to a page 78 x 46 mm.) of this primer, with the catechism and the same graces as those of the larger copy as well as portions of the Morning Prayer—of which there are two fragments in the Bodleian Library without title-pages (Douce Fragments, G4, c. 1565?).[11]

These fragments consist of A and B, signed in eights, imperfect but in duplicate.[12] For these two sheets the content is exactly the same as in 1566 (1575), though in smaller format,

[9] *S. T. C.*, 3002 ff. [10] Anders, *ABC*, p. 44. [11] Anders, *ABC*, p. 44.

[12] "When, as is frequently the case nowadays, a quad sheet is used, which in octavo will of course give 64 pages, 32 on each side, it is usual to place the outer and inner formes of two consecutive sheets on the press together, so that the sheet when printed will comprise two copies of, say, sheets B and C" (McKerrow, R. B., *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, p. 69). Such a half-sheet imposition appears to be involved here, though I have seen only a photograph.

and so containing less than A and B of the larger form. In the larger form, there was a preliminary sheet, consisting of the title-page, Contents, the Calendar, an Almanac for nine years, and the ABC. Since the fragments begin with the catechism on A_1 as does the larger form regularly, it is reasonably certain that this smaller form also had such a preliminary sheet with much the same materials and arrangement of them. The presumption from the agreement with the larger form is that the fragments are from a full *Primer and Catechism,* of the type of 1565 (1575), as shown by the graces, etc., but in smaller format, as was regularly true. But it could have been of a form abbreviated for school purposes, though we know of no such abbreviated copy for this type. These are the known survivors in the reign of Elizabeth from the *Primer* of 1551 in both forms as it had been developed from the *Primer* of 1545.

In the course of 1559, the *Book of Common Prayer* of 5 and 6 Edward VI with alterations and additions was established in the authorized form to take effect June 24, 1559, which would in turn establish the form of the various service books dependent upon it. This determined that the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1552 became the basis of 1559, and by consequence that the dependent service books should take the form of 1553, as they did in 1560. On July 3, 1559, William Seres received a patent for

> all manner of bookes of pryvatt prayers usually and commonly called or taken for Prymers, as also of Psalters, both in great volumes and in small, in Latyn or Englishe.[13]

So Seres reprinted in 1560 with slight necessary adaptations to the Queen and the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1559 the *Primer or Book of Private Prayer* of 1553.[14] Seres again reprinted under the same title and in the same format in 1568.[15] In the meantime, about 1566, under an adapted title and in different format, Seres reprinted the work, but whether with other changes I do not know.[16] The format and changed title look suspiciously like an intended companion to *Preces Privatae,* 1564 ff, also 16°. For its title ran "A booke of Priuate Prayer, necessarye to be used of all Christians with manye Godlye

[13]Collier, J. P., *The Egerton Papers* (Camden Society), p. 140.
[14]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 243, pp. 299-300. [15]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 251, p. 301.
[16]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 249, p. 301.

Prayers," 16°.[17] Hoskins does not describe it, but says "the book belongs to the same class as No. 200. A. D. 1553."[18] An examination is evidently needed.

In the 'sixties, the *Primer or Book of Private Prayer* as slightly adapted under Elizabeth was also joined to the ABC with catechism to become a *Primer and Catechism,* as had been the case of the *Primer and Catechism* of 1551. This form, which also belonged to Seres, of course, contained at least the Calendar, Almanac, ABC, Catechism, Graces, Morning and Evening Prayer (for Sunday only), Litany, and the seven penitential psalms.[19] The earliest known copy of this form is about 1564. It is thus an abbreviated form of the *Primer* as shaped in 1553,[20] adding the ABC, and cutting away the plethora of prayers as well as all the services except those for Sunday. Since the copies of the only two editions described break off in the Seven Psalms, it is likely that the abbreviated form ended with this unit, or very nearly with it. The fact that the next known editions, of *c.* 1670 and *c.* 1685 add only four godly prayers and six graces beyond the Seven Psalms also points pretty certainly to the same conclusion.[21] This is, no doubt, the form to which Barker refers in 1582 as

the primer for little children, with the same *Catechisme* . . . The *primer for children* likewise consisteth of the *Catechisme* and certayne select *Psalmes of Davide.*[22]

It seems clear that we have here an abbreviated *Primer and Catechism* for school purposes. Unfortunately, neither copy has a title-page. But Hoskins has identified a surviving title-page as belonging to this type.

253. (*c.* 1580) *Thomas Purfoote, London, assigned by William Seres, London,* 16°.

A primer and a Cathechisme, and also the notable fayres in the Kalender set forth by the Quenes maiesty to be taught unto children. Imprinted at London by Thomas Purfoote. assigned by William Seres. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. (verso) [The Kalender.] K. L. January hath .xxx.

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[17]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 249, p. 84. [18]Hoskins, *Horae,* p. 301.

[19]See Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 248, pp. 300-301 for contents of a copy of about 1564; and No. 254, pp. 301-3 for another of about 1580.

[20]The octavo form of the *Primer* of 1553 does not have the "Seven Psalms," but they occur in the 16° of c. 1553 and thereafter (Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 201, p. 297). [21]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 257, pp. 303-5; No. 259, pp. 305-6.

[22]Arber, *Transcript,* Vol. I, p. 116.

Brit. Mus. Bibl. Harl. 5937. No. 117.
80 x 55. inclusive of a border which surrounds the letterpress.
**This edition is only known by the title-page.[23]

This he places next to the edition of *c.* 1580. Now the Calendar in this type does include the Fairs, but that in the *Primer and Catechism* of 1551 and its descendants does not in any copy described by Hoskins. The fact that the title-page was printed by Purfoot as the assign of Seres also indicates some such date as Hoskins has attached.

Anders, on the other hand, solely on grounds of size apparently, has connected this title-page with the Douce fragments, which are some form of the type of *Primer and Catechism* as it appears in the edition of 1565 (1575).

McKerrow makes the interesting suggestion that a certain title-page (79 x 55 mm.) reproduced in *Title-Page Borders,* 1932, No. 105, may belong to this smaller edition. This seems very likely.[24]

In size, it corresponds quite as well to the other type. All the positive evidence indicates that this title-page belongs to the *Primer and Catechism* as represented by the editions of *c.* 1564 and *c.* 1580, and that this is the type, "set forth by the Quenes maiesty to be taught unto children." This is, therefore, the type of petty school *Primer and Catechism* current from at least *c.* 1564 to *c.* 1580, and still current a century later. The relation of the other type of *Primer and Catechism* as represented by the edition of 1565 (1575) to the *Preces Privatae* as revised in 1573 probably indicates that it was the type which would be used in grammar school.

It may be well to caution the reader that he must distinguish clearly between these four types of primer current in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. The ancestral type of all these is King Henry's *Primer* of 1545, with catechetical materials prefixed. (1) There was one edition of this form in 1559. When the catechetical materials became a catechism in 1549, then that catechism was substituted for the catechetical materials to form a *Primer and Catechism.* (2) This form is known in editions of *c.* 1559, *c.* 1560, and 1566 (75). There was next a new type

[23]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 253, p. 85. Facsimile of recto in McKerrow, R. B., and Ferguson, F. S., *Title-page Borders,* No. 105. Since the Folger copy of c. 1580 had been sent to safety, the authorities could not tell me definitely whether it has a title-page. As Mr. Birchenough once saw this copy, he can doubtless solve the whole problem. [24]Anders, *ABC,* p. 44.

of primer, which was not a primer in the old sense at all but a layman's form of the *Book of Common Prayer,* which accordingly was labelled as the *Primer or Book of Private Prayer.* (3) There were various editions of this form. (4) This form was then very much abbreviated and attached to the catechism to become the petty-school *Primer and Catechism.* Since there were two radically different forms with the title *Primer and Catechism,* the reader must be careful to differentiate the two.

In Latin, Seres published his *Orarium* in 1560, and then the *Preces Privatae* in 1564, with several editions to 1574. This ends the summary of the private prayers which he had published in English and in Latin under his patent of 1559.

But besides primers, Seres was granted psalters, as being also books of private prayer. Now the psalter was not regularly attached to the Prayer-Book in Elizabeth's reign, as one is apt to assume. This custom became general during the reign of James,[25] primarily because of the shift in translations of the Bible. The *Book of Common Prayer* had naturally used the current *Psalter* of Cranmer's "Great Bible." When the Bishops' Bible came in, it soon substituted this version for its own. Some editions of the English-printed Geneva version also supplied the old Great Bible version. Eventually, it was found simpler to attach this version to the Prayer-Book itself. These solutions were primarily for the minister. But the layman also needed a psalter with some materials from the Prayer-Book. So Seres printed in 1560

The Psalter or Psalmes of Dauid. Corrected and pointed as they shal be song in Churches, after the translation of the great Byble: With certayne addicions of Collectes and other ordinary seruice, gathered out of the booke of Common prayer, confirmed by Acte of Parliament, in the fyrst yere of the raigne of our soueraigne Lady Quene Elizabeth. Anno Christi. 1560. Cum priuilegio.[26]

For contents, it began, of course, with a title

On the back, "An Almanacke for xxii. yeres," beginning M.D.lix. On the next leaf "The order how the Psalter is appointed to be read." On the back thereof "A Table for the order of the Psalmes to be sayde at Mornyng and Euenyng prayer." Then a "Kalender" for the 12 months with the lessons at morning and evening prayer. The service is printed in like manner as in modern use to bind up sometimes with the Bible; but

[25][Parker, James], *The First Prayer-Book of Edward VI* (1877), p. 408.
[26]Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities,* Vol. II, p. 692.

the collects have no directions annexed to them where to find the epistles and gospels. Contains, besides the prefixes, J3, in fours. My copy wants the last leaf, which perhaps had a colophon, &c. W. H.[27]

Seres had thus at once put into execution all phases of his patent.

Similarly, John Day had a privilege of October 28, 1559, on all his books, which included before and after, *The ABC with the Little Catechism.*[28] So *The ABC with the Catechism* continued to be published separately as well as in the *Primer and Catechism.* Presumably there were also graces attached as was now customary. Under Elizabeth, the boy would begin with his hornbook for his ABC, then proceed to *The ABC with the Catechism,* and thence to the *Primer and Catechism.* This, as we have seen, is the progression contemplated by all the critics upon the petty school. The framework of this part of the system is that which had been adopted and adapted by Henry in 1545, when he was preparing an authorized framework for the whole petty- and grammar-school system.

It will be remembered that the theorists upon petty school expected it to require about two years. There is one fairly concrete instance of actual progress. On July 12, 1550, George Medely records as an item of expense for his nephew Francis Willoughby, about four years old, "for a pounde of sugere plate and greate comfettes to make hym larne his booke, xx *d.*; for twoe absez [ABC's] j*d.*"[29] Presumably these two ABC's for a penny were hornbooks, instead of *The ABC with Catechism.* The sugar candy and comfits had apparently been successful in causing Francis to consume his ABC's, since there was a further supply of ABC's without supplementary sweets on November 11, 1550, "for abces [ABC's], ij*d.*"[30] Presumably this was a more expensive form, probably the *ABC with Catechism.* On March 24, 1551, an entry runs, "for an Englysshe dyaloge for Fraunces, j*d.*"[31] The editor of these items suggests that this entry refers to a work by Christopher St. German, printed in Latin 1523 and in English translation about 1530, frequently reprinted, and probably not yet dead. By harvest

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 692; cf. p. 718.
[28] Steele, Robert, *The Earliest English Music Printing* (Bibliographical Society), pp. 21 ff.
[29] *Hist. MSS. Comm.;* Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton, Preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, p. 400. [30] *Ibid.*, pp. 401-2.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 403.

time 1552, Francis was ready for his Accidence.[32] Thus he had begun about four, and in two years was ready for his Accidence in English (two copies at 8*d*). His training was apparently individual or with one companion, not in petty school. But his textbooks and progress are characteristic.

It may be well in conclusion to notice that since all the various service books had been brought into conformity with the *Book of Common Prayer,* that fact caused numerous conflicts between the holders of the various privileges. The statement in December 1582 of Christopher Barker, who held the privilege for the *Book of Common Prayer,* is illuminating here for our purpose.[33] Barker was chiefly aggrieved by "the Patentes of Master Seres and Master Daye," as they infringed upon that part of his patent which assured him *"the booke of common prayer* by name, and in generall wordes, all matters for the Churche." He says "The benefit of *the booke of common prayer* is very small, by reason of Master Seres his patent as will appeare in the same;" also,

In the priuiledge, or private licence graunted to Master Daye, are among other thinges *the Psalmes in meeter, with notes to singe them in the Churches aswell in foure partes, as in playne songe,* which being a parcell of the Church service, properly belongeth to me. This booke being occupied of all sortes of men women and children, and requiring no great stock for the furnyshing thereof, is therefore gaynefull/

The small Catechisme alone, taught to all lyttle children of this Realme is taken oute of *the booke of common prayer,* and belongeth to me also which master Jugge solde to Master Daye, and is likewise included in this patent procured by the right honorable the Earle of Leicester, and therefore for Duties sake I hold my self content therewith This is also a profitable Copie for that it is generall/and not greatlie chargeable/

Day's first privilege, as we have seen, was upon the ABC, which had certain religious materials attached. Then by the autumn of 1552 he had a privilege for the *Catechism,* which was delimited in 1553 to the two catechisms in English, leaving those in Latin to Wolfe, the printer for Latin. This was the arrangement under Edward. Under Elizabeth, Day had a privilege of October 28, 1559, on all his books for seven years. When this expired, then as of May 6, 1567, he received a privilege for ten years, which mentions

[32] *Ibid.,* p. 405. [33] Arber, *Transcript,* Vol. I, pp. 115-116.

the Psalmes of David in Englishe Meter, with notes. the A.B.C. with the little Catechism, appointed also by our Injunctions for the instruction of Chyldren.[34]

Then on August 26, 1577, there was another privilege to John Day and his son Richard, mentioning

the psalmes of David in English meeter with notes to singe them, the A.B.C. with the little cathechisme appointed by our Injunctions for the instruction of Children, the Cathechisme in englishe and lattyn compiled by our trustie and welbeloued Alexander Nowell, nowe Deane of Powles, with all other books in englishe or lattyn whiche the saide Alexaunder Nowell hath made or hereafter shall make write or translate,

etc.[35] When Nowell's *Catechism* appeared in 1570, the old arrangement of 1552 was continued, with Day printing the English and Wolfe the Latin. Since Day had no privilege on this, he staked a claim by entering it with the Stationers' Company. When Wolfe died, Day procured the Latin of Nowell, and caused Nowell past, present, and future in all forms to be entered in his next privilege, 1577.

Thus Day conflicted with Barker on Sternhold, and *The ABC with the Catechism;* but for the latter item the conflict was on *"The small Catechisme alone,"* since the supplementary materials were from other sources. Barker's mention of Sternhold as "being occupied of all sortes of men women and children" is significant as indicating the use of the book in the teaching of children, confirming occasional specific mentions in school statutes. Barker considered that both these items were profitable to Day, but did not complain since the Earl of Leicester had procured Day's privilege. This ignores the whole past history and former privileges, of which this one is only a continuation.[36]

But the patent of Seres was the really painful one. The patent of 1591 sums up that of July 3, 1559,[37] as having been to

William Seres, and his assignes, for and duringe the terme of his naturall lief, to ymprint or cause to be ymprinted, aswell all manner of bookes of pryvatt prayers usually and commonly called or taken for Prymers, as also of Psalters, both in great volumes and in small, in Latyn or Englishe,

[34]Steele, *Music Printing,* p. 22.

[35]These three privileges may be found conveniently in Steele, *Music Printing,* pp. 21 ff, with notes on their further history.

[36]For further facts on the later history of *The ABC with the Catechism,* see Anders, *ABC,* pp. 36 ff.

[37]See *Calendar of the Patent Rolls,* Elizabeth, Vol. I, pp. 54-5.

which then were or att any tyme after that shoulde be sett forth and permitted by us, our heires and successors, or by any other persons thereto authorized by us, to be had, redd, used and taught of our lovinge subjectes, throughout our realmes and dominions, duringe the said terme of his naturall lief.[38]

This was intended to be superseded by a patent of August 23, 1571, to William the elder and his son William, for

all manner of booke and bookes of pryvatte prayers, prymers, psalters and psalmes, both in great volumes and smalle, in Englishe or Latyn, which then were, or att any tyme after that,

etc.[39] When question was raised as to the validity of this grant on the ground that surrender of the one of 1559 had not been formally recorded, a new one in the same terms was granted in 1591.[40]

The conflict of interests between Seres and Barker was inherent in the fact that Seres owned the *Primer* or *Book of Private Prayer,* which was itself only an adaptation of materials from the *Book of Common Prayer.* These materials Seres had made available in numerous forms, as we have seen. Barker alludes to these and states the facts, though he does not present the philosophy of the change.

Master Seres

Master Seres hath *the Psalter of* David, *the primer for little children,* with the same *Catechisme,* and all *bookes of priuate prayer whatsoever in latin and Englysh:* he also encrocheth farther to take oute of *the booke of common prayer, the morning and Evening prayer,* with the *Collectes,* the *Letany* and other thinges, framyng as it were a booke of common prayer to himself.

This *Psalter* is likewise a part of the Church service, belonging to me, and as aucthorised by Parliament as *the booke of common prayer./*

The *primer for children* likewise consisteth of the *Catechisme* and certayne select *Psalmes of* Davide.

How I am hindred by this *Psalter,* it happeneth thus, that where I sell one *booke of common prayer,* which few or none Do buye except the minister, he [i.e. Seres] furnysheth ye whole parishes throughoute the Realme, which are comonly an hundred for one [of mine].[41]

Now all these supplementary materials were in the *Book of Private Prayer* and Seres had merely served those materials in combinations which were proving to meet a demand. His complete *Primer* apparently had died before 1582, and had never

[38]Collier, *Egerton Papers,* p. 140. [39]*Ibid.,* p. 141. [40]*Ibid.,* pp. 138-143.
[41]Arber, *Transcript,* Vol. I, p. 116.

been able to compete very well with the *Book of Common Prayer.* But Seres had abbreviated it to become the *Primer and Catechism* for petty school, since evidently such a full form as had originally been planned under Henry VIII with his *Primer* had proved too unwieldy. Seres had at least been receptive to reason and had printed a suitable form of text, whoever may have thought of so adapting it. This abbreviated *Primer and Catechism* thus superseded the *Book of Private Prayer* as a text for children.

Similarly, the *Psalter* as worked out by Seres superseded the *Book of Private Prayer* for those elders, as well as directed youth, who would have used it. In addition to the *Psalter* it gave those parts of the service in which the layman might wish to participate. As Barker saw, Seres had constructed a layman's *Book of Common Prayer,* but he had framed it out of materials from his own *Book of Private Prayer.* And the two descendants had killed the parent—the *Primer and Catechism* for the children, the *Psalter* for children and the layman. The fundamental conflict, however, did not arise from the offspring as Barker would lead us to believe but from the parent. The offspring had killed their parent, and as Barker complains, one of them, the *Psalter,* was now about to kill the grandparent *Book of Common Prayer* itself. The reason was quite simple, as Barker saw.

> How I am hindred by this *Psalter,* it happeneth thus, that where I sell one *booke of common prayer,* which few or none Do buye except the minister, he [i.e. Seres] furnysheth ye whole parishes throughoute the Realme, which are comonly an hundred for one [of mine].

Seres had adapted his materials to the private needs of all laymen; Barker had only the complete form, which was seldom wanted by any save the ministers. Seres had shown this willingness to meet the layman's need both in school and in church. One feels that he had earned a deserved success, however much that success might irk those who had been given the better part only to find it prove the worse.

So Barker feels rather aggrieved both by Day and by Seres.

> This patent being procured by your honour to that vertuous honest man your Lordships late seruant William Seres the elder, and his sonne, I ever did, and Do willingly holde my selfe content, for reverend Dutie to

your honour: yet your Lordship may perceave, that in these two patentes lieth the greatest commoditie of my office.

Logic may have been on Barker's side, but past history was against him. The fatal step was taken when Seres was granted the *Book of Private Prayer* and the *Psalter,* which he had then adapted to the need. One is pleased to hear his opponent speak of him as "that vertuous honest man."

Barker reserves his words of condemnation for

these wrangling persons that so contemptuouslye Disobey her Maiesties grauntes and commaundementes / Do not offer to printt any prayers included in the generall wordes, but the *Psalter* with the *morning prayer,* and the *primer* with the *Cathechisme* aforesaide and other bookes what like them best of all mens priuileges and so arrogate to them selves a priviledge of priuiledges.

The wranglers wanted "the *little primer,* and vsuall *psalter.*"[42] These wrangling persons were at the time also infringing upon Day's *ABC with Catechism.*[43] This and the *Primer,* being petty school texts were unusually profitable, and part of the demand for the *Psalters* was also for use in school.[44] We need not go further into the controversy than to note that eventually all three of these texts with accompaniments went into the ownership of the Stationers' Company itself.[45]

It will now be noticed that the new form of *Primer* or *Book of Private Prayer* in English begun in 1553 extends to 1568. Since there were several years between editions, that of 1568 would have been still readily current in Shakspere's days at school. So also was a descendant of the old-style primer of 1551, which was reprinted in 1566 (1575). The *Preces Privatae,* which also belong to this tradition, were current too and intended for school purposes. But with the middle 'seventies all primers cease except the very attenuated *Primer and Catechism* of petty school. The other types had been rendered useless by the *Book of Common Prayer* in the first place and then by the prose *Psalter* with additions from the Prayer-Book in the second. The primers went out along with the Bishops' Bible, about the middle 'seventies, and the prose

[42]Arber, *Transcript,* Vol. II, p. 786; cf. Vol. I, p. 114.
[43]Arber, *Transcript,* Vol. II, pp. 753 ff.
[44]The Latin textbooks of grammar school were also coveted by these wrangling persons, but we must defer that part of the discussion to grammar school.
[45]Malcolm, J. P., *Londinium Redivivum,* Vol. IV, pp. 384 ff.

Psalter held the field along with the Genevan Bible thereafter. We shall see that the Bishops' Bible was the one used upon Shakspere in grammar school and that his petty school training lies wholly in the tradition of 1553. His was the authorized training of the day, neither looking back to even the "superstition" granted by the types of 1551, nor any further aside at Geneva than the Church of England itself directed.

CHAPTER IV

THE SYSTEM OF RELIGIOUS TRAINING IN SHAKSPERE'S SCHOOLDAYS

BESIDES THESE ELEMENTARY TEXTS in English and then in Latin, a longer catechism in Latin was also in the 'forties customary for the more advanced pupils of grammar school. We happen to know, for instance, how Winchester was supposed in 1547 to adapt itself to the new orders under Edward VI, before the time of the *Book of Common Prayer,* which was to include the *Brief Catechism.*

1. It is ordered and decreed by the king's said commissioners, that from henceforth the bible shall be daily read in English, distinctly and apertly, in the midst of the hall, above the hearth, where the fire is made both at dinner and supper.

2. *Item,* That as well all the scholars of the said college and foundation, as other coming to the said school, being able to buy the new testament in English or Latin, shall provide for the same betwixt this and Christmas next coming, to the intent that they may every sunday and other holy day exercise themselves holie in reading thereof; setting apart all other exercises of prophane authors, and that the warden and school master, or such as the warden in his absence shall appoint, shall diligently from time to time examine them of their exercise in that behalf.

3. *Item,* That the warden, and in his absence such one as he shall appoint, shall from henceforth every Sunday and holy day, not being principal, or octaves of principal, immediately after dinner read unto the scholars of this school some part of the proverbs of Salomon, for the space of one hour, which book ended, he or his sufficient deputy shall begin the book of Ecclesiastes, which also ended, they shall begin then again the said proverbs, and so continue; the said lecture to begin on this side Christmas next, videlicet, anno Domini 1547.

4. *Item,* That from henceforth the said scholars shall use no other primer, than that which is set forth by the king's authority, the Latin primer for them that understand Latin, and the English primer for them that understand not Latin. And yet notwithstanding, for him that understandeth the Latin, to use which of them he liketh best for his edification.

5. *Item,* the warden and schoolmaster in all lectures and lessons of prophane authors, shall confute and refel by allegation of scriptures, all such sentences and opinions, as seem contrary to the word of God and christian religion.

6. *Item,* That every scholar of this foundation and other, coming to the said school, shall provide with all convenient expedition, for Erasmus

catechism, wherein the warden or his sufficient deputy, every sunday and holy day, shall read some part thereof, proving every article thereof by the scripture, and exercise the scholars at such time therein.

7. *Item,* That all graces to be said or sung at meals, within the said college, and other prayers, which the said scholars or children are bound to use, shall be henceforth said or sung evermore in English; that they shall henceforth omit to sing or say "stella caeli; salve regina;" and any such like untrue or superstitious anthem.[1]

While there was no advanced Latin catechism authorized for all, yet the Commission directed that the boys at Winchester should master that of Erasmus. These boys would, of course, have had at an earlier stage the Credo, Pater Noster, and Ten Commandments of the *ABC,* around which in 1549 the *Brief Catechism* was to be constructed. It was thought that grammar students needed also an authorized advanced Latin catechism to which to proceed, and so such an authorized catechism was provided in 1553. In a prefatory injunction "to all schoolmasters and teachers of youth . . . for authorizing and establishing the use of this Catechism," dated May 20, 1553, King Edward recounts,

When there was presented unto us, to be perused, a short and plain order of Catechism written by a certain godly and learned man: we committed the debating, and diligent examination thereof, to certain Bishops, and other learned men, whose judgment we have in great estimation. And because it seemed agreeable with the scriptures, and the ordinances of our Realm, we thought it good, not only for that agreement to put it forth abroad to print; but also, for the plainness and shortness, to appoint it out for all Schoolmasters to teach: that the yet unskilful and young age, having the foundations laid, both of religion and good letters, may learn godliness together with wisdom; and have a rule for the rest of their life, what judgment they ought to have of God, to whom all our life is applied; and how they may please God, wherein we ought, with all the doings and duties of our life, to travail.

We will therefore and command, both all and each of you, as ye tender our favour, and as ye mind to avoid the just punishment of transgressing our authority, that ye truly and diligently teach this Catechism in your schools, immediately after the other brief Catechism which we have already set forth.[2]

A Latin version of this catechism was also provided at the same time. It will be noticed that now it is this catechism, not

[1]Wilkins, *Concilia* (1737), Vol. IV, pp. 8-9. Cf. Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. II, pp. 150-151. [2]Ketley, *Liturgies,* p. 493.

a primer, which is ordered for the next stage after the "Brief Catechism." It is not clear from this order in itself whether the boy was supposed also and eventually to proceed to the *Book of Private Prayer,* which was now the primer.

These changes were just being introduced at the end of Edward's reign. Queen Elizabeth attempted to carry on from where Edward left off. As we have seen, the various forms of the old primer were reprinted in 1559-60, but not much thereafter. The old primer of Henry VIII could not have seen much, if any, official service in school under Elizabeth. The old system was then replaced by a new, based upon *The Book of Private Prayer* instead of the old primer. Similarly, the advanced catechism of 1553 was apparently not even once reprinted in Elizabeth's reign, but, as we shall see, was eventually replaced by those of Nowell.

From 1540 to 1560 the framework of the petty and grammar school system was being shaped into authorized form in catechisms, primer, and grammar. The grammar had been determined under Henry VIII. Very early in Elizabeth's reign the authorized form of all the others was determined except that of the advanced catechism. Such an advanced catechism was also prepared at once by Alexander Nowell, but did not come to print till 1570. Since there were various reasonably satisfactory catechisms of the kind, such as those by Erasmus, Calvin, etc., there had been no absolute urgency and perhaps had been some reluctance to give up one's favorite view for a somewhat different authorized one.

We may now watch the system shape itself under Elizabeth to its complete form just in time to polish in William Shakspere's system of beliefs during the 'seventies. We may as well begin with the church regulations as to the duties of the grammar-school teachers—teachers of petties were not dignified with special regulations. Since it was the church which licensed and supervised all these teachers, its regulations are important. The Royal Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth in 1559 ordered,

> 39. *Item,* That every Schoolmaster and Teacher shall teach the Grammar set forth by King *Henry 8.* of noble memory, and continued in the time of King *Edward 6.* and none other.

. . . .

41. *Item,* That all teachers of children shall stir and move them to love and do reverence to Gods true Religion, now truly set forth by publick Authority.

42. *Item,* That they shall accustom their Scholars reverently to learn such sentences of Scriptures as shall be most expedient to induce them to all godliness.[3]

There is no longer any mention of the primer, as under Henry and Edward, but the grammar is continued and sentences of scripture are required.

Petty school was immediately standardized for the reign and long after. Most of our statements of petty work are incidental to the statements of those grammar schools which were obliged to supervise the petties also. Where the petties were to be cared for in connection with grammar school, it was regularly the duty of the usher to teach the ABC, Catechism, Primer, and Accidence. Christopher Walton made provision on September 22, 1552 for "a person to keep a grammar school for all the poor children in the parish of Penwortham, who should teach both young children in the 'Absay (ABC), catechism, primer, accidence,' and others in grammar."[4] In establishing Burford Grammar School in 1571, Simon Wisdom also made provision for petties, "so that every man in the town and parish, minding to set his child to school, being mere children, having no infirmity or sickness, should be taught his A,B,C, his Catechism, primer, and to read and write, until he should be able to be preferred to the grammar school."[5] At Oswestry Grammar School in Wales, 1577, it was the duty of the master to

provide an able and efficient usher in the sayd schoole for the teaching of the younger sort to read the A.B.C., the English prymer and the gramer comonly called the King's gramer and to teach them in the foundacion of the gramer till they shall be ready to learne some author of ye laten under him the said Schoolemaster.[6]

At Aldenham, November 1600, the usher was to be

hable att the leaste to teache the introduction to Grammer and inferior Lattyn bookes for the twoe firste ffoarmes as also to teache the Englishe

[3] Sparrow, A., *A Collection of Articles,* etc. (1684), p. 79; Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 21; cf. *Ibid.,* pp. 91, 105, 214.
[4] V. C. H., *Lancashire,* Vol. II, p. 605.
[5] *Schools Inquiry Commission,* Vol. XII, p. 217.
[6] Knight, L. S., *Welsh Independent Grammar Schools to 1600,* p. 74.

bookes and faire wrightinge, cipheringe and castinge of accompts the better to trayne uppe yonge begynners in the A B C, Prymmer, Catechisme, and such other Englishe bookes whereby they may atteyne to the perfecte readinge of the Englishe tongue.[7]

It was provided in the schedule that on Monday and Tuesday the usher shall read to the first form "the Royal Grammar, the Testament in English or David's Psalms in English."[8] Also, on Saturday "From 2 to 3 p. m. the master shall exercise his boys in translating the (Latin) Catechism and New Testament, and the usher shall teach his boys to write the Catechism in English and arithmetic (*supputare*)."[9] And to prove the religious pudding, "the boys living in Aldenham were to be taken by the master and usher to church on Sundays, 'to oversee them that they bringe Praier Bookes in Latten or Englishe'."[10]

The function of this petty work is regularly stated to be to teach the children to read, write, and, frequently, to cast accounts. It is so put at Wellingborough in 1599.[11] At St. Olave's in 1572, the parents of the children were "desirus to have them taught the Principells of Christen Religion, and to wright, reade and cast accomptes, and so to put them forth to prentice."[12] This is the classic statement of the aims of petty school. It is further provided, "They shall teach the whole cattechisme set out by the Queenes authoritie to the younger sort."

The qualifications for entrance to the various grammar schools are also frequently couched in significant terms. At Merchant Taylors', September 24, 1561, for entrance,

But first see, that they can the Catechisme in English or Latyn, and that every of the said Two Hundreth and Fifty Schollers can read perfectly, and write competently, or els lett them not be admytted in no wise.[13]

At Norwich, 1566, the boy at entrance must be able "to saie his Chathechisme and to read *per*fectly bothe Englisshe and Latyn and to wright competently."[14]

[7] V. C. H., *Hertfordshire,* Vol. II, p. 84. [8] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 83.
[9] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 84. [10] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 84.
[11] V. C. H., *Northamptonshire,* Vol. II, p. 264.
[12] V. C. H., *Surrey,* Vol. II, p. 183.
[13] Carlisle, Nicholas, *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools,* Vol. II, p. 54.
[14] Saunders, H. W., *A History of the Norwich Grammar School,* p. 159.

Other indications will also appear in our later discussions, and still more might easily be collected, but these are sufficient to show the functions and texts of petty school. It aimed to teach to read and write always, and to cast accounts frequently. Its chief texts for reading are the *ABC, Catechism,* and *Primer.* As we have seen, these are the aims and texts which the theorists assumed, and these are the texts which had been evolved. In addition, the Accidence might be read, and such religious materials as the Psalms, advanced catechism, etc., depending upon time and circumstances.

But petty school was only the first stage, and these religious materials continued in the advanced stages. The cathedral schools exhibit the whole system, since they were obliged to maintain a petty school for choristers as well as a grammar school for advanced students. We may begin again with Winchester. Bishop Horne's Injunctions for Winchester Cathedral May 18, 1562, settling their customs, provide for the choristers

19. Also that the choristers shall be taught diligently by their master not alonely to sing, but also the Catechism in English such as is or shall be set forth by the Queen's authority, and also to write and read perfectly.[15]

As petties, the choristers were to be taught "to write and read perfectly," and one of their primary texts would be "the Catechism in English."

The proviso concerning any catechism which "shall be set forth by the Queen's authority" left an opening for an expected action. A similar proviso appears at Merchant Taylors' on September 24, 1561. There the under-ushers

shall teache the Children, yf neede be, The Catechisme, and Instruccons of the Articles of the Faith, and The Tenn Commaundements in Latin; that is to say, such a Catechisme as shalbe approved by The Queenes Majesty that now is, and by The Honorable Court of Parliament of this Realme from tyme to tyme.[16]

Motions were afoot in official circles to provide an advanced catechism or catechisms. For the Bishops in their "Interpretations" of 1560-61 included

Item, that beside the catechism for children which are to be confirmed another somewhat longer may be devised for communicants and the third in Latin for schools.[17]

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[15]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 138.
[16]Carlisle, *Grammar Schools,* Vol. II, p. 54.
[17]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 71.

This is the form which appears in the Lambeth Articles of April 12, 1561.[18] So

Among the important business to be brought under the consideration of the Convocation which met in 1562, it was advised that "there should be authorised one perfect Catechism for the bringing up of the youth in godliness, in the schools of the whole realm; which book," it is added, "is well nigh finished by the industry of the Dean of St. Paul's:" and that "the said Catechism being once approved by the learned in the Convocation-house, may be authorised to be taught also by the Universities, and to the youth wheresoever they be taught their grammar in any private men's houses."[19]

This Latin catechism finally came to print in 1570,[20] and was in the same year provided with an English translation by Thomas Norton, and by 1573 with a parallel Greek translation by Whitaker. Thus an opening is made for this advanced catechism at Merchant Taylors' and Winchester when it should appear.

Perhaps we should notice in passing that the Bishops wish to continue the *Little Catechism* as a text to be mastered before confirmation; but they wish also a longer one in English for communicants, doubtless with a view to those between fourteen and twenty, about whom they were much concerned as they approached matrimony for themselves and standing sponsor for the children of others. Then the Bishops want a third catechism in Latin for grammar schools. Poynet in 1553 had in a way served for both the second and the third of these requirements, and Nowell eventually served all purposes. The Bishops had considered also a catechism for their young priests and ministers, but that desideratum does not appear specifically in the Lambeth Articles. The reason it was dropped is probably indicated by a later proviso concerning Nowell's catechism. Guest's Articles for Rochester Diocese October 15, 1571, contain,

25. *Item,* that every parson, vicar, curate, and reader shall provide the great Catechism which was dedicated to the bishops, in that tongue which

[18]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 96.

[19]Corrie, G. E., *A Catechism Written in Latin by Alexander Nowell,* etc. (Parker Society), pp. iv-v.

[20]Some highly unwarranted conclusions concerning Cecil's role in this business of Nowell's Catechism will be found in Webster, C. M., "A Note on Alexander Nowell," *Notes and Queries,* Vol. CLXVII, pp. 58-9.

he can best understand, and shall make certificate thereof to my Chancellor within one month after this my visitation.[21]

The one catechism was eventually so constructed as to cover all purposes.

But to return to Winchester, it was provided further in 1562,

20. Also that every of the said choristers shall every fortnight at the least learn without book one chapter of the Gospel or of the Acts of the Apostles in English.[22]

Brinsley in 1612 evidently considered such training as the choristers at Winchester were to receive in 1562 as the ideal.

Bishop Horne's injunctions for Winchester College at this same time June 25, 1562 naturally provided for the continuation of the catechetical process at the grammar school level.

5. Also that the scholars of the school shall be taught diligently the catechism in Latin by the Schoolmaster and Usher of the same school every Sunday and weekday and Holy day until all the scholars can say the Catechism; and afterwards to be an ordinary lesson in one form under the Usher's government, as a thing necessary to be learned of all tender youth.[23]

The Schoolmaster and Usher here first act as the regular church officials were directed to do for their parishes till the boys had memorized the catechism in Latin. The Usher then polished it in as "an ordinary lesson in one form."

It would seem clear that what is ordered here is the Latin translation of the *Little Catechism,* which was to be had in the various Latin service books, though I do not know whether at this period it was printed separately. It was to be found in the *Liber Precum Publicarum,* a Latin version of the *Book of Common Prayer,* for which Queen Elizabeth granted letters patent on April 6, 1560. This particular version was a revision said to be by Walter Haddon of the translation in 1551 by A. Ales of Edward's first *Book of Common Prayer.* The version of 1560 was intended to be used at Cambridge, Oxford, Winchester, and Eton for public prayer, since it was presumed that Latin would be understood in those learned communities. Nothing is said of ordinary grammarians. But it will appear from the school statutes that it was left to the

[21]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 336.
[22]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 138.
[23]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 132.

discreet supervision of the schoolmaster as to which of his forms should participate in the church service in English and which in Latin—some Greek and Hebrew was also possible. Students would find a Latin version of the *Little Catechism* in the *Liber Precum Publicarum.* They would also find it in a different Latin translation in the corresponding primer, *Preces Privatae,* 1564 ff, which were "in studiosorum gratiam collectae," as is further explained by the printer. There may have been still other sources of supply.

Bishop Horne had provided for some Latin version of the *Little Catechism* at Winchester in 1562. Doubtless Guest's Injunctions for Rochester Cathedral, June 25, 1565, envision the same practice in the provision,

9. *Item,* that every one of the scholars of the grammar school do learn the Catechism in Latin, and that every of the choristers do learn the said Catechism in English.[24]

Orders for the cathedrals were probably uniform. For the grammar schools of the whole of Rochester Diocese, Guest then gave the same instructions,

7. *Item,* that all schoolmasters keeping a grammar school shall teach his scholars the Catechism in Latin.[25]

Frere thinks this catechism in Latin must necessarily have been that attributed to Poynet and required of schools both in English and Latin in 1553, but the combined records make it clear that the reference is to "the Catechism in Latin," as we have seen.

It was settled that the boys should get the *Little Catechism* in English and then in Latin. Plans were being made for an advanced catechism or catechisms. In the meantime, Calvin's catechism gets the only mentions I have found as the advanced catechism in use in the 'sixties. We shall see that this catechism was not at all displeasing to Dean Nowell himself. The Statutes at St. Saviour's, Southwark, 1562, required Calvin's Catechism in Latin and Greek.[26] A copy of Calvin's Catechism was bought for Sir Philip Sidney at Shrewsbury in February 1566 (at 4*d*).[27] Calvin's *Catechism* and *Institutions* still held the field with Bishop Pilkington in the 'seventies, as we shall

[24]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 153. [25]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 160.
[26]V. C. H., *Surrey,* Vol. II, p. 177.
[27]Wallace, M. W., *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney,* p. 410.

see, even along with Nowell. The same was true at Harrow about the same time, where the requirement is stated thus,

Every scholar shall be taught to say the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, the Ten Commandments, and other chief parts of the Catechism and principal points of Christian Religion, in English first, and after in Latin, and upon Sunday and holidays, the Master shall read a Lecture to all, or the most part of his Scholars, which he shall think meet to hear thereof, out of Calvin or Nowell's Catechism, or some such other book, at his discretion, and the School shall not break up at any great feast in the year for any longer time than the space of one week, besides the holidays, which holidays also shall not be spent without this Lecture and Instruction in the things before mentioned.[28]

Incidentally, Maunsell classifies the *Institutions* of Calvin among catechisms. Calvin's Catechism had been printed separately in English translation as early as 1556 and frequently thereafter. The *Short Title Catalogue* records Latin versions in 1562, 1565, 1572, 1575, and ?1590. It had thus preceded Nowell and was evidently considered by many to be at least as satisfactory. Norton, who later translated Nowell's Latin catechism into English, had already performed the same service for Calvin's complete *Institutions* as early as 1561. The Latin of the full form had but one known edition in England, that of 1576.

Since the boy was first of all being prepared to perform his religious duties, it was, of course, inevitable that he should be supervised in his actual use of these materials in church. What was good practice at Bury St. Edmunds in 1550 was good practice at Newport in 1589. It was provided at Bury St. Edmunds, I translate,

53 On holy days, let all being placed in their seats in the church be present at public prayers; let them listen to the sacred sermons and whatever readings are pronounced from the holy scriptures attentively and with the greatest show of piety.

54 Who either in church, or in public, shall not have borne himself modestly, let him be flogged.

55 Let them learn by heart the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue, and whatever else may seem to aid the institutions of the Christian faith, both in English and in Latin; let them be taught in these on every Saturday until they have them completely.[29]

[28] Watson, Foster, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, p. 80.

[29] British Museum; MS Lansdowne 119, no. 2 (photographic facsimile in Library of University of Illinois; I have examined the original also).

Dr. Thomas Legge's orders for Newport School March 23, 1589, repeat items 53 and 54 as items 43 and 44, but not 55.[30]

The boys must participate attentively in the services, using these materials which they had been taught. Naturally, the cathedral schools would be particularly insistent on this matter. It was provided at Peterborough in 1561,

And that every scollar may have commaundement to prepare them selfes to come to common prayers devoutly in their apparell, and orderly both in commyng to the church and contynewing their the tyme of prayers: and the ussher for the moste parte there also to see their good ordr observed, and to warne as many as can wright to make vj or vij sentences of the sermon yf any be made: and theye that can not wright to note iiij or .[31]

This provision for writing up the sermons in school was to be put into the canons of 1571 for all schools. Attendance upon the services in cathedral schools would, of course, be obligatory and universal.

But where it is not merely assumed the proviso occurs also regularly for all types of schools. For instance, at St. Saviour's 1562

For religious instruction *Erasmi ex Plutarcho,* "Castalion upon the Scripture, Aesop and Calvion's (Calvin's) Cathechisme in Latyn and Greake, the New Testament in Greake." The boys were to go to church in "the quire" on Sundays, holy days and other festival days "with their psalme bookes and bookes of prayer," and on Wednesdays and Fridays "in the Lente" to be present "at the Latynye [Litany] or common suffrages," while on holy days "the best scholers shall versify upon a chapter of the Newe Testament".[32]

Similarly in regulations for Tonbridge School which Archbishop Parker and Dean Nowell approved on May 12, 1564, it was provided,

Item I wyll that all the scholars uppon the Sabboth and hoolie dayes resorte in due tyme to divine service in the parishe churche of Tunbrige, the Master and ussher or one of them at the leaste beinge present to oversee them. And I will that the Master and ussher do dewly every Monndaye in the morninge call to reckoninge all suche of the Schollers as either absente themselves from the churche or come tarde to it or otherwise use not themselves reverentely there in praier every of them havinge

[30]Translation in Gonville and Caius College Library, Cambridge University (photographic facsimile in Library of University of Illinois).
[31]V. C. H., *Northamptonshire,* Vol. II, p. 209.
[32]V. C. H., *Surrey,* Vol. II, p. 177.

a Praier booke in Latten or Englisshe accordinge to the Maisters appointemente.[33]

The Master was also to "prescribe to them suche sentences of holy scripture as shalbe most expedyent to enduce them to godenes."[34] Tonbridge boys were to obey the letter and the spirit of the injunctions of 1559.

Sir Nicholas Bacon was also insistent upon a rounded religious training in his provisions for St.Albans, May 17, 1570.

Item, The Schollars shall learn perfectly by heart the Articles of the Christian Faith, The Lord's Prayer, The Ten Commandments, and all such other things concerning the Christian Faith and Religion, both in the *English* and *Latine* tongues. And the Schoolmaster shall every Saturday in the Afternoon make proofe and instruct his Schollars for their perfectness therein.[35]

These were the materials of the *Little Catechism.* The use to be made of these materials is also described.

Item, it is also ordered, that the said Schoolmaster and Schollars shall every Sunday, and Holyday, repair unto St.Alban's Church, and there shall continue from the beginning of Morning and Evening Service to the ending of them, and there shall sitt together in the Chancell or some place of the Church as the Parson, Churchwardens, and Schoolmaster shall agree. And shall after the Schoolmaster or Curate say one time during their abode there in the fforenoon, kneeling on their knees, either immediately before Service, or in some other time during Service, The Lord's Prayer, The Ten Commandments, and Prayers for the Royal Foundress and the Benefactors of the School.

Item, it is ordered, that the said Schoolmaster and Children shall every working-day upon their knees in the School, in the Morning at their first coming, say The Suffrages, The Lord's Prayer, and the Prayers before remembered, —And evey(*sic*) Evening, before they depart the School, The Ten Commandments, The Lord's Prayer, and The Creed.[36]

These instances will be sufficient to indicate what the religious instruction was and how it was managed in the 'sixties. Petty school was predominantly religious. In grammar school, the boys got the materials of their religious training in the off-periods from regular routines on Saturday afternoons and upon half-holidays. They put it into practice under the watchful eyes of their schoolmasters in church at morning and evening prayer and sermon on Sundays and holy-days. And

[33]Rivington, S., *The History of Tonbridge School* (1925), p. 68.
[34]*Ibid.*, p. 63. [35]Carlisle, *Grammar Schools,* Vol. I, p. 516.
[36]Carlisle, *Grammar Schools,* Vol. I, p. 515.

they were called upon in school to prove their attentiveness in church.

As we have seen, the Bishops wished an advanced catechism or catechisms for the upper reaches of their system, and Convocation in 1562 approved such a catechism by Dean Nowell, which, however, did not get into print till 1570. When Nowell's catechism became available in 1570 and was ordered in 1571, the framework of the Elizabethan school system was complete. The instructions concerning schoolmasters are codified in the canons of 1571 thus:

Of Scholemasters

It shall not be lawfull for any to teach the Latine tongue, or to instructe children, neyther openly in the scholes, neyther priuately in any mans house, but whome the Byshop of that dioces hath alowed, and to whom he hath geuen licence to teach vnder the seale of hys office. And here we except (for honours sake) the Lordes of the Parliament: but the Bishop shall allow no Scholemaister, nor accompt him worthy of y^{t} office, but whom he shal finde in his iudgement to be learned, and worthy of that place, and whome he shall see commended by the testimonie of godly men, touching hys life and manners, and especially hys religion.

Scholemaisters shall teach no Grammer, but onely that, which the Queenes Maiestie hath commaunded to be read in all Scholes, through the whole Realme, neyther any other Latine Catachisme, then that which was sette forth, in the yeare. 1570. The whiche also, that is translated into English, we wil haue taught vnto children that are ignoraunt of the Latine tongue.

All other bookes they shall teach, whereby the fulnes and finenes of the Latine & Greeke toung may be learned, & those especially, which profite to the knowledge of Christ and godlynes. And once euery yeare they shall signifie to the Byshop, what chosen scholers they haue of all their number, which are of that aptnes, and so forward in learning, that there may be good hope they will become fitte, either for the common wealth, or for the holy ministerie. By this hope the parents beyng allured, will more willingly keepe them at schole.

But chiefly they shal so order and frame the tongues of children, that they may pronounce openly, plainly, and distinctly. And as often as any sermon shalbe, they shall either send them, or bring them to church, that from their childhode they may be brought vp in godlines: & lest they should heare it negligently: at their return to schole, they shall call and examine euery one, what they haue learned out of that sermon: and that the myndes of children, may be the more styrred vp to vertue and diligence: they shall rebuke the idle and sluggish, and shall prayse the attentiue and diligent.[87]

[87] *A Booke of certaine Canons* (London, 1571; *S. T. C.* 10064, copy in U. of Ill. Library), pp. 25-6.

Nowell's catechism of 1570 has now been added, and instructions to examine upon sermons. The sentences from scripture are not specifically required here, but they are in 1603, and we shall see that Archbishop Grindal considers that the requirement is in force. We may pause to notice that schoolmasters are now directed in 1571 to report every year to their Bishop those boys who were most likely to be of use to either church or state so that their parents might be encouraged to have them prepared in letters. We shall see that Sir Nathaniel knows this ideal in some form and applies it to Master Holofernes. One would like to know if William Shakspere was ever so reported to the Bishop of Worcester—or did he prefer to go miching for blackberries? The man who baptized him had no prophetic power—or had he?; one would like to know about his schoolmasters. We should not overlook either the instruction to schoolmasters that they should see to it that the boys learned to pronounce openly, plainly, distinctly, and that they attended the sermons pronounced by the preachers, upon which the teachers were to examine the boys next day to make certain that their minds as well as their bodies had been at the sermon. The custom of having the schoolmasters supervise the boys in church and examine them upon the sermon has now been canonized; it was the duty of Shakspere's teachers, as of all teachers. Since it was a primary function of the teachers to train their pupils to take part in the services, and since the teachers were necessarily present at these services, it was an inevitable consequence that they should supervise the conduct of their pupils at church.

The canons of 1604 sum up under the duties of schoolmasters the current practice thus

> All schoolmasters shall teach in English or Latin, as the children are able to bear, the larger or shorter Catechism heretofore by public authority set forth. And as often as any sermon shall be upon holy and festival days within the parish where they teach, they shall bring their scholars to the church where such sermon shall be made, and there see them quietly and soberly behave themselves; and shall examine them at times convenient, after their return, what they have borne away of such sermons. Upon other days, and at other times, they shall train them up with such sentences of holy scripture, as shall be most expedient to induce them to all godliness; and they shall teach the grammar set forth by

king Henry the Eighth, and continued in the times of king Edward the Sixth, and queen Elizabeth of noble memory, and none other.[38]

The scripture sentences and grammar are continued from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. Nowell's catechism and the examination upon sermons were added in 1571 and continued in 1603. The sentences are not specifically mentioned in 1571, but Grindal considered that the requirement was still in force. The system, therefore, had come to its fullest development just in time for Shakspere. For the religious as well as for the classical training of the petty and grammar schools Shakspere arrives exactly at the heroic age.

So the canons of April 1571 ordered that schoolmasters should teach only the Queen's grammar, and only Nowell's Latin or English catechism of 1570.[39] It was evidently in the checking up which led to general reaffirmations in 1571 that Nowell's catechism was finally made available as it had been expected in 1562 it would soon be. It will also be seen that Nowell's catechism (largest and middle forms together) was designed to hold the position occupied in 1553 by the catechism of "a certain godly and learned man," which it will be remembered was to be taught "immediately after the other brief Catechism," just as Nowell's middle catechism was. In fact, some have argued that Nowell himself was the "godly and learned man," chiefly because of the close relationship of his own larger catechism to the catechism of 1553, though John Poynet appears to have the best claim to that honor.

We may turn again to Winchester to see what effect the canons of 1571 have. Again we look first at the petty work of the choristers. Bishop Horne's Injunctions of October 2, 1571, for Winchester Cathedral are brought into conformity with the new situation,

23. *Item,* the said choristers shall not only learn to sing but also shall learn without book the Catechism in English written by Mr Nowell Dean of Pawles, and every fortnight shall be examined how they profit therein by some to be appointed by the Dean and Chapter: and shall further learn to write and read of their teacher or some such as shall be by the Dean and Chapter provided.[40]

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[38]Cardwell, E., *Synodalia,* Vol. I, pp. 291-2.

[39]Cf. B. M.; Lansdowne MSS., No. 155, f 100 r for a regulation mentioning all these forms of catechism, etc.

[40]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 322.

Bishop Horne in his Injunctions for Winchester College October 2, 1571, cared for the grammar school as well as for the choristers.

8. *Item,* because no less regard is to be had of the Schoolmaster and Usher than of the fellows, yea rather more, because of the instructing of youth, and to the intent that all in that college shall come to be in one uniformity of profession and belief, it is ordered that every Sunday and Holy day after dinner they shall read and expound to the scholars in their several forms or books[41] some part of the Catechism lately set forth by Mr Alexander Nowell Dean of Powles, beginning at the beginning thereof and so continuing until the end.[42]

Also

14. *Item,* that none be hereafter admitted or chosen scholars or choristers except they can say by heart without book the little English Catechism with the right use of the Sacraments lately set forth: nor that none go from thence to the New College in Oxford but such as can say Mr Nowell's Catechism and subscribe to the Articles of Religion lately set forth in the last Convocation.[43]

The system is now complete. Before admission as scholar or chorister the boy must be able to "say by heart without book the little English Catechism with the right use of the Sacraments lately set forth." This statement is important also as showing when the section on the sacraments was added to the *Little Catechism* in English, for it was this form which was translated by Nowell into Latin and by Whitaker into Greek. This form had in the English version an added section on duties and one on the sacraments. The section on the sacraments as trimmed by Bishop Overall was attached officially by the Hampton Court conference in 1604 to the *Little Catechism* in the *Book of Common Prayer.* It and a section on duties had been attached to the school form evidently in connection with the Convocation of 1571. Evidence to be adduced later would appear to make it clear that Dean Nowell was responsible for this form of the English catechism. Evidently it then became the official form.

So in his Articles for Winchester Diocese, 1575, Parker refers to this enlarged form of the *Little Catechism.*

14. *Item,* whether they make or cause to be made their monthly and quarterly sermons, instruct and examine the youth of their parishes in the Catechism at Evening Prayer on Sundays and Holy days. Whether

[41] An early example of this term.
[42] Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 327.
[43] *Ibid.,* Vol. III, p. 328.

they move the parishioners and the parents to buy the Catechism lately set forth with additions by the Queen's Majesty's authority: whether they read the Homilies on Sundays when there be no sermons, and the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions every quarter.[44]

He expects the Diocese to follow the same form of catechism as does the Cathedral, and that form was "set forth with additions by the Queen's Majesty's authority," as we have seen, about 1571.

At Winchester Cathedral after 1571, the boys had to be able to repeat this form of the *Little Catechism* by heart before they could become either scholars or choristers. After they became scholars they had to be able to say Nowell's catechism before they could proceed to New College in Oxford. Provision was made for teaching these accordingly.[45]

But use of the enlarged form of the *Little Catechism* was not confined to Winchester Cathedral and Diocese, in the Province of Canterbury. Archbishop Grindal of York ordered on October 10, 1572 that the precentor

and the Master of the choristers, provide that the said choristers of the church of York be virtuously brought up and taught in the principles of religion and that they cause them to be examined thrice in every quarter of a year in the English Catechism now lately set forth and enlarged.[46]

The enlarged form evidently became the official one in 1571. Archbishop Grindal, of course, would have lost little time in putting Nowell's improvements to work, since Grindal had long been a patron of Nowell, who had been his chaplain.

Nowell himself has left a note of the arrangement for teaching the choristers at St. Paul's, which brings forward further details. On May 22, 1584, Thomas Giles agreed to instruct the choir boys at Paul's

in the principles and grounds of the Christian religion, contained in *the little Catechism* set out by public authority, and after, when they shall be elder, in the *middle* Catechism; and in writing and music—; and then suffer them to resort to Paul's school, that they may learn the principles of grammar, and after, as they shall be forwards, learn the said Catechisms in Latin, which before they learned in English, and other good books taught in the said school.[47]

[44]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 376.

[45]Orders were introduced by Archbishop Whitgift of Canterbury in a synod of 1586, which specified "the catechisme with additions, set forth by publick authority" (Wilkins, *Concilia,* IV, 322).

[46]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 351.

[47]Churton, Ralph, *The Life of Alexander Nowell,* p. 190, giving as reference "Reg. Nowell ii. f. 189. May 22, 1584."

Thus Giles was to teach the boys only their petty work along with their music; when they were qualified for grammar school they were to go to Paul's. This, as we have seen, was evidently the arrangement between choristers and grammar school in all the cathedral schools of Elizabeth's day. According to Nowell's agreement with Giles, the *Little Catechism* in English and the *Middle Catechism* in English belonged to this petty work. This is the sequence called for by the *Middle Catechism* itself. On its title page, it says it is "to bee learned of all youth next after the little Catechisme: appointed in the booke of common Prayer." Nowell confirms this order, and so does Archbishop Grindal, as we shall shortly see. And that in spite of the fact that at the end of the *Little Catechism* of 1582 and its successors for centuries stood the couplet.

> This little Catechisme learnd
> by harte, (for so it ought:)
> The Primer next commanded is,
> for Children to be taught.

This had once been true, but the progress was now by the 'eighties to the *Middle Catechism,* not to the *Primer.* For the boys now got the elements of the primer in connection with the catechism as the *Primer and Catechism.*

The canons of 1571 were put into effect, of course, both throughout York and Canterbury. Archbishop Grindal's Articles for the Province of York, 1571, inquired

> 57. Whether the schoolmasters which teach within your parish . . . teach the grammar set forth by King Henry the Eighth of noble memory, and none other; and whether they teach not their scholars the Catechism in Latin lately set forth, and such sentences of Scripture as shall be most expedient and meet to move them to the love and due reverence of God's true religion, now truly set forth by the Queen's Majesty's authority, and to induce them to all godliness and honest conversation.[48]

Consequently, his Injunctions order that the schoolmaster

> shall teach his scholars the Catechism in Latin lately set forth and such sentences of Scripture (besides profane chaste authors) as shall be most meet to move them to the love and due reverence of God's true religion now truly set forth by the Queen's Majesty, and to induce them to all godliness and honest conversation.[49]

The awkward phraseology is the result of adapting that of the Royal Injunctions of 1559, and adding the requirement of

[48]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 270. [49]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 291.

Nowell. As Archbishop of Canterbury, Grindal in 1576 places among his articles of inquiry

Whether the schoolmasters which teach within your parish . . . teach not their scholars the Catechism in Latin lately set forth, and such sentences of Scripture as shall be most expedient and meet to move them to the love and due reverence of God's true religion, now truly set forth by the Queen's Majesty's authority, and to induce them to all godliness and honest conversation.[50]

He also inquired about the grammar, of course.

Archbishop Grindal's phraseology on this point served him as well for Canterbury as it had for York. The phraseology for Canterbury in 1571 is shown by Sandys' Articles for London Diocese,[51] and Guest's Articles for Rochester Diocese.[52] The phraseology of the two is practically identical and varies but slightly from that of York, for both Canterbury and York are basing upon the canons of 1571. School statutes would naturally also refer to these requirements. Those of Bishop Pilkington, for instance, furnish an excellent illustration.[53] Thus we know quite well what were the orders on these matters for the Diocese of Worcester and consequently the practice to which the Stratford masters were supposed to conform beginning with 1571. We know also the rule and general practice for the years preceding.

Certain others of these orders throw incidental light on various details of expected practice in carrying out the general scheme. Thus we find in Cooper's Articles for Lincoln Diocese in 1574:

8. Whether . . . such schoolmasters as do teach the Latin tongue in your parish, do read unto their scholars twice every week at the least an ordinary lecture out of the Latin Catechism lately set forth and allowed by public authority; and whether such as teach youth to read English, do bring up their children in reading of this Catechism in English, and of other books agreeable to the Queen's proceedings or no.[54]

Bishop Cooper (compiler of the Latin Dictionary) orders that the Latin catechism receive the two-hour attention given most subjects in grammar school, but he should have made his statement concerning the English catechism clearer.

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[50]Grindal, *Remains,* pp. 173-4.
[51]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 312.
[52]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 333.
[53]See below, pp. 99 ff.
[54]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 371.

Parker's Articles for Winchester Diocese, 1575, ask concerning schoolmasters

whether they teach any other grammar or any other Catechism than is set forth by the Queen's Majesty's authority: whether they suffer their scholars to read any books tending to the impugning and derogation of the order of religion now set forth, or propound to them any themes, vulgars, or subtil questions, whereby matters of religion concluded and established might be made doubtful unto them, or they induced to deride or scoff at any godly order, rite or ceremony, now set forth and allowed.[55]

Scholars would, of course, have themes and vulgars involving these religious materials; they were to have only such as Parker would approve. Most bishops would have had their pet hobbies.

Another quirk appears in Freke's Articles for Rochester Diocese in 1572,

20. *Item,* whether that your schoolmaster be diligent in teaching, sound in religion, and what authors he doth read unto his youth, and whether that upon Sundays and Holy days he exerciseth his youth in the Catechism, and in reading and in expounding some part of the Scripture.[56]

Freke was evidently interested in knowing whether the heathen authors were "chaste." In all these regulations it will be noticed that the luckless teachers (the boys would have considered themselves even more luckless!) were expected to catechize and supervise the Sunday and Holy Day of the boys as well as the week days. Reformation is rampant in theory, and doubtless followed, even though at times somewhat afar off, the theoretical ideal in practice.

Nowell's catechism had thus been first constructed about 1561-2 to meet a need which had once been filled by the catechism of 1553 attributed to Poynet. Shortly after publication in 1570 it was specifically required by the canons of 1571 and continued long thereafter to be the official advanced catechism. We have seen how Nowell thought his catechisms were to be used in the petty school of the choristers at St. Paul's. We have also seen how Archbishop Grindal, Nowell's patron, had ordered Nowell's catechisms to be used first in his province of

[55]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 380.

[56]Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, p. 342. I have included only the more significant instances in the preceding summary. Various further instances and facts may be found in Chapter IV of Wood, N., *The Reformation and English Education.* A knowledge of the actual school system would have saved him at various places from several serious misinferences.

York, and then in that of Canterbury. It happens that Grindal himself founded a school, in which we get some further indications of the system at work. The whole system is sketched for us at the grammar school level by Archbishop Grindal in 1583 for St. Bees.

In the statutes it was provided that

> The Schoolmaster for the time being shall have authority to appoint some poor Scholar, that understandeth his Grammar, and can write a reasonable hand, to be his Usher under him; who shall teach the Children to read and write English, and to say by heart the Catechism in English set forth by public authority, with the additions, and the Accidence, and when they are able to learn construction they shall be admitted into the Master's School.[57]

It was further provided that "he shall also have 4*d.* a piece yearly of every one that he shall teach to write, so long as he taketh pains with them.[58] This usher thus teaches the petty subjects of reading and writing, using the ABC and catechism with the additions as his textbook. In addition, he taught the Accidence in English, which might occupy only three months, would not occupy more than a year. Thus the Usher teaches the English; the Master all the Latin.

For authors and books, it was

> Provided always, that the first books of construction that they shall read either in Latin or Greek, shall be the smaller Catechisms set forth by public authority for that purpose in the said tongues, which we will they shall learn by heart, that with the knowledge of the tongues they may also learn their duty towards God and Man. These books shall only be read in the said School, except it shall be otherwise appointed hereafter by those that have authority;—
>
> The A. B. C. in English.
>
> The Catechism in English, set forth by public authority.
>
> The Psalter and Book of Common Prayer, } in English.
> The New Testament, }
>
> The Queen's Grammar, with the Accidence.
>
> The small Catechism in Latin, publicly authorised.
>
> . . . .
>
> The Greek Grammar of Cleonard, or some other generally allowed.
>
> The little Greek Catechism set forth by public authority, and any other good Author in Greek.
>
> The Schoolmaster may use his choice of these books, to take or leave as he thinketh meet, to be appointed for every Form, saving that the

[57]Carlisle, *Grammar Schools,* Vol. I, p. 157. [58]*Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 157.

Accidence, the Queen's Grammar, and the Catechism aforesaid, shall not be omitted.[59]

Also

Item, upon Saturdays and Half-holidays in the afternoon, they shall apply their writing by the space of two Hours, and the Master and Usher in the meantime shall examine such of their Scholars as they think meet in the Catechism, either in English, Latin, or Greek, according to their Capacities, and as they have learned the same.[60]

The Usher taught the English of the *Little Catechism;* the Master the Latin and the Greek as the first book of construction in each of those languages. In the Eton system, this would mean the *Little Catechism* in Latin in the first form; in others, the second. The Greek would then be in the first form to study Greek, usually fourth or fifth. Since it was intended so to be used, it had the Greek ABC attached. Both Usher and Master examined the pupils upon the *Little Catechism* on Saturday afternoons and half-holidays. It was intended that the boys master the *Little Catechism* thoroughly.

Strype has quoted another sketch of Grindal's for this curriculum at St. Bees.

I. The School-master is obliged to bring up his Children in the Fear of God, good Learning and good Manners.

II. He or his Usher shall teach the Children to say by heart the Catechism in *English,* set forth by publick Authority.

III. The School-master shall teach them the greater as well as the lesser Catechism, set out by Authority, . . . and no other Catechism; except publickly authorized.

IV. The Usher shall teach them the ABC in *English,* the *Psalter,* and the Book of *Common-Prayer.* And the Master the small Catechism in *Latin,* set out by Authority.

V. The Master is advised to teach his Scholars *Palingenius, Sedulius* and *Prudentius.* But,

VI. The Archbishop leaves him at liberty to teach what Books he pleased; except the Queen's *Grammar* and the Catechisms before mentioned.[61]

Strype's summary is somewhat confused, but main points are clear. St. Bees included petty work also, under the Usher. Consequently, the Usher was to do all the religious teaching required in English and the Master that in Latin, just as Nowell required Giles to do the English work, and Paul's school the

[59]Carlisle, *Grammar Schools,* Vol. I, pp. 157-8. [60]*Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 161.
[61]Strype, J., *The History of the Life and Acts of the Most Reverend Father in God, Edmund Grindal* (1710), p. 312.

Latin. At St. Bees, the boy began upon *The ABC with the Little Catechism* as was conventional for petty work. Later the Master taught "the small Catechism in *Latin,* set out by Authority." It is provided further that the Master "shall teach them the greater as well as the lesser Catechism, set out by Authority." Since it had been provided in the preceding paragraph, as also in the statutes, that the Usher teach the *Little Catechism* in English, this succeeding proviso may mean that the Master is to teach both Nowell's middle and largest catechisms in both English and Latin, as he is also instructed in the next paragraph to teach the least catechism in Latin, and by the statutes in Greek. This would give the same sequence as Dean Nowell had directed for his choir boys under Giles, except that Giles was to teach the English of the *Middle Catechism* as well as that of the *Little Catechism,* and that Nowell does not specify his *Largest Catechism* because it was not involved in the division of labor. But more likely the requirement means merely that the Master is to teach both the catechisms "set out by Authority," referring to Nowell's as "the greater" and that of the *Book of Common Prayer* as "the lesser," without any intent to differentiate between the two forms of Nowell.

The same progression after the Accidence had been mastered is prescribed for Oundle School.[62] There the Schoolmaster, who was to be a Master of Arts

> shall prescribe unto them [the pupils] such sentences of holy Scripture, as shall be most expedient to endue them to Godliness; and shall teach the Grammar approved by the Queen's Majesty, and the Accidence and English Rules, being learnt in the first Form; to teach in the Second, Mr. Nowell's little Catechism; and in the third form, his large Catechism.[63]

Here are the prescribed sentences, grammar, and catechisms. Since Nowell's catechisms are mentioned, the date is not earlier than 1570. The number of forms is not specified, but there was both Master and Usher so that it must have had a normal number. In this case, "Mr. Nowell's little Catechism" would be his Latin version of the *Little Catechism* and would follow the Accidence, as Grindal prescribed; in this system coming in

[62]These statutes were recorded in 1604, but are said to be not later than 1573 (V. C. H., *Northamptonshire,* Vol. II, p. 245).
[63]Carlisle, *Grammar Schools,* Vol. II, p. 215.

the second form. Then in the third came Nowell's "large Catechism." It does not appear directly whether this is his largest or his middle form, and we do not get the remainder of the system to give us the clue.

A provision at Sandwich (six forms) on March 24, 1580, also fits into this scheme. There it was provided that the third form, under the Usher, "shal have read unto them such Lattine Catachisme as shal be sett forth by publique aucthoritie."[64] These statutes are evidently a revision of a much older set, but the revised form manages to give the clue as to the position of the catechism in Latin.

It was also provided at Oundle

> 25. *Item,* that all the Scholars upon the Sabbath and Hollidays resort to the Parish Church of Oundle in the time of Common Prayer, the Master and Usher or one of them being present to oversee them that they do not misbehave themselves, and that each of them have a Prayer Book either in Latin or English, as the Master shall appoint.[65]

A similar provision appears at Sandwich in 1580 for the English Service on Sabbath and holy days, which the boys were to attend, "everie of them having a Prayer booke in Latyn or Englishe according to the Master his appointmente."[66] In fact, as we have seen, it is usual to require the Master and Usher to supervise the boys at church. The canon enjoining them to check the boys upon the sermon implies that it was universally expected. So whether it is specifically required or not, it is implied as the universal custom that the teachers instruct the boys in the use of the service books. Some were not content to have it implied.

Archbishop Grindal was one of these, as was Bishop Pilkington. So at St. Bees we get still another significant proviso. There the usher was also to teach the boys in English the *Psalter* and the *Book of Common Prayer,* the purpose being to enable them to take part in the church services. This proviso we have already met above. The edition of the *Psalter* published by William Seres in 1560 contained besides the psalter itself "certayne addicions of Collectes and other ordinary seruice, gathered out of the booke of Common prayer."[67] An

[64]Carlisle, *Grammar Schools,* Vol. I, p. 605.
[65]Carlisle, *Grammar Schools,* Vol. II, p. 218.
[66]Carlisle, *Grammar Schools,* Vol. I, p. 603.
[67]Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities,* Vol. II, p. 692. See above, p. 66.

edition of [1567?] by the same printer (*S. T. C.* 2386) is "The psalter with the ordinarie seruice, out of the Book of common prayer." On the verso of the title-page is "An Almanacke for xiiii. yeares," beginning 1567 and ending 1580. Then a Calendar for twelve months with the lessons at morning and evening prayer. Next, "The order how the Psalter is appointed to be read," followed by "A Table for the order of the Psalmes to be sayd at Morning and Euening prayer," together with "Proper Lessons to be read for the first Lessons, both at Morning and Euening prayer, on the Sundaies throughout the yere, and for some also the seconde Lessons," and "Lessons proper for holy dayes," as finally "Proper Psalmes on certaine dayes." This furnishes a complete ordinal for the services of the year. Then comes "The order where Morning and Euening prayer shall be vsed and sayde," followed by "An order for Morning prayer, dayly throughout the whole yeare," and "An order for Euening prayer throughout the whole yeare," followed by "the Letanie, to be vsed upon Sundayes, Wednesdayes, and Frydayes, and at other times, when it shall be commaunded by the Ordinarie," and "The Collects." Attached to this copy, with a separate title-page, is a *Psalter* proper or the psalms, printed by Denham in 1580 as an assign of Seres. After this psalter, with a different set of signatures but without another title-page, are "Certaine godlye Prayers to be vsed for sundrie purposes." This copy doubtless represents the form of c. 1567, and the undated first part of it may be of approximately that date. The next copy recorded in *S. T. C.* (2397) is of [1579] entitled "The psalter. With the morning and euening prayer," and this remains the form of the title thereafter.

Here is all the material which a layman needed for participating in public service. Consequently, as we have seen, Christopher Barker in December 1582 claimed that Seres was in this work really competing with the *Book of Common Prayer.* "How I am hindred by this *Psalter,* it happeneth thus, that where I sell one *booke of common prayer,* which few or none Do buye except the minister, he [i.e. Seres] furnysheth ye whole parishes throughoute the Realme, which are comonly an hundred for one [of mine]".[68] Thus "the Psalter" was the layman's *Book of Common Prayer.*

[68] Arber, *Transcript,* Vol. I, p. 116.

So we shall see that Bishop Pilkington required his boys to have the psalms in prose, which was this abbreviated book of common prayer; and the psalms in meter, which would be Sternhold and Hopkins for singing. Archbishop Grindal wanted the usher to teach the boys how to use the *Book of Common Prayer* and the *Psalter;* i.e., both the full *Book* and the layman's abbreviation of it, and we have had other instances where both were specified, as they are in fact implied by the requirement that the boys attend church.

The Statutes of Rivington School give many further details as to how these religious matters were handled. The Charter of Foundation was dated May 13, 1566. The statutes as we now have them were enrolled on September 6, 1596.[69] Since the statutes were originally made while Bishop Pilkington was still alive, they date in original form before his death January 23, 1575,[70] but a reference to Nowell's catechism is later than 1570. They represent, therefore, the practice of one school exactly when Shakspere was being trained.

Bishop Pilkington, who had been at Frankfort with Nowell,[71] supplements Nowell and Grindal in numerous details. He directed that the boys, "When they go to School every one shall carry with him the Psalms in prose and meter, besides those books he shall occupy at the School."[72] We have just seen what the probable forms were. We shall soon see that the psalms both in prose and in meter formed a part of the routine devotional duties of Pilkington's grammar school.

As soon as the Scholars be assembled in the School in the morning, at the Master's or Usher's appointment they shall all fall on their knees to common prayer openly, and begin first with some general confession, as that which is set forth in the Common Book, and appointed to be said before the receipt of the communion,

etc.[73] The boy must have at least parts of the "Common Book" either in his head or in his hand.

Then shall be sung or said a Psalm or two in prose, if they be not long, at the discretion of the Master or Usher, in English, in order as they stand in the Psalter, and then begin again continually; and when the Psalm is ended, with the Lord's Prayer, the Schoolmaster or Usher shall say the Collect appointed in the morning prayer,

[69]Whitaker, J., *The Statutes and Charter of Rivington School,* pp. 244, 222.
[70]*Ibid.,* p. 119.
[71]Strype, J., *Annals of the Reformation* (1709), Vol. I, p. 105.
[72]Whitaker, *Rivington School,* p. 173. [73]*Ibid.,* p. 199.

etc.[74] The boy needs the Psalter in prose, which Bishop Pilkington has directed him to take to school. By 1560 the *Psalter* had been printed "With the morning and euening prayer" as the title of 1579 puts it, and thus continued to be a regular form. This is the form which boy and teacher are to use.

At eleven,

after the rehearsal of the Ten Commandments, by a Scholar appointed thereto, in order through them all, they shall sing a Psalm in English metre, in order through them as they stand, or part of one if it be too long; and so every one go to dinner, after the Master or Usher hath read openly in English a common prayer drawn out of the Psalms, gathered into the form of prayers by Peter Martyr, or some such like; that so the Scholars may learn to gather the effect of the Psalms into prayers, and use them to their comfort.

Likewise in the evening before they depart from the School, they shall sing or say a Psalm or two, in English prose altogether, if they be not too long, at the discretion of the Master or Usher; which being done, with the Lord's Prayer and the Articles of our faith said openly, the Master or Usher shall pray openly as followeth,[75]

etc. The psalms to be sung in meter would be Sternhold and Hopkins, no doubt. The boy would have the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed from his *Little Catechism,* which was based upon them. Pilkington had directed him also to take the *Psalter* both in prose and meter to school. The prose version would be the *Psalter* printed by Seres and his assigns, being an abbreviated *Book of Common Prayer,* as Barker complained; the metrical version would be Sternhold and Hopkins. The boy would be best provided, therefore, by having both these books. It will be remembered that Archbishop Grindal instructed the Usher to teach the boy how to use in English the *Book of Common Prayer* and the *Psalter.* The reason is evident.

Bishop Pilkington mentions also, "prayers by Peter Martyr." A translation of these in English by C. Glemhan was entered 1566-7, and copies survive of a single edition of 1569. This proviso evidently belonged to the original form of Bishop Pilkington's statutes of about that date. The prayers were incorporated in the *Catechism and Primer* of 1566 (1575), and the Latin in the *Preces Privatae* of 1573, and 1574. So this was evidently a general procedure in the 'seventies.

[74] *Ibid.,* pp. 200-201. [75] *Ibid.,* pp. 202-203.

The boys were being taught at school how to participate in the church services. So for their attendance at church Bishop Pilkington had provided,

they shall be at the beginning of prayers, and tarry to the end; and bring with them every one a Psalter and New Testament, in that language which they understand. And the elder sort may have the Holy Bible . . . they shall diligently mark the chapters when they be read, the Homilies, or Sermons, and repeat them when they come home, and the next day be opposed of them in the School by the Master or Usher; that so it may appear who hath been diligent in hearing and remembering, and the negligent shall be corrected.[76]

At church the boy must have the *Psalter,* which was the layman's abbreviated *Book of Common Prayer;* and either the *New Testament* or the whole *Bible.* He could then participate in the services, upon which he would be examined next day, as the canons of 1571 directed.

The reader should not overlook the fact that the boys would be examined upon the homilies when read as well as upon the sermons. Hart[77] has shown at least that Shakspere accepts fully the chief political doctrines of the Homilies, whether he derived those doctrines directly from the Homilies or not. Under the conditions of the time, the probabilities are very high that the Homilies had a leading part in impressing these doctrines on Shakspere. Similarly, Noble[78] has given ample evidence to indicate Shakspere's familiarity with the other parts of the church service. His schoolmasters would at least have started him in the way he should go.

Since Pilkington's school was to have petties also, it shows the complete catechetical framework as well. It is provided

If the number of the pettys that learn to read be more than the Usher can well teach, some of the eldest Scholars by course may be appointed by the Master and Governours to help him.[79]

It will be remembered Grindal had provided that one of the elder boys might be the usher in his school, where also petties were to be taught. So Pilkington provides,

it is to be wished that none be admitted to the School but that can read; yet in great need the Usher shall teach such to read and learn the Short Catechism in English as have not learned it; and the other that can read

[76] *Ibid.,* p. 175. [77] Hart, Alfred, *Shakespeare and the Homilies* (1934).
[78] Noble, Richmond, *Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge and Use of the Book of Common Prayer* (1935). [79] Whitaker, *Rivington School,* p. 206.

and say it, shall enter first to the learning of the English Grammar and rules, commonly called the King's Grammar; and in learning to read much time is not to be spent, for the continual exercise of learning to read other things shall make it perfect.[80]

Pilkington provides for any necessary petty work upon reading and memorizing the *Little Catechism* in English, and gives the conventional reason for spending but a short time in getting the boy started, since practice would make perfect. Others were to insist that such practice did not make perfect in English and so that longer and better training should be given. Pilkington made the corresponding provision that

the Master and Usher shall appoint them that cannot write, every day one hour to learn to fashion their letters in, until they can do it something seemly.[81]

It was directed also that under certain circumstances the Governors should provide for the children "one that can and will teach them to write and to sing."[82] But ordinarily this was to be done by the Usher, who would teach them to write, and to sing Sternhold and Hopkins.

The whole catechetical setup is sketched in a provision that,

On Saturdays and Holyday Eves, the Usher shall exercise his younger sort in learning their Short Catechism in English, in the Common Book, and the same days to all sorts the Master shall read Mr. Nowell's, or Calvin's Catechism, taught in Calvin's Institutions, willing the elder sort both to learn it by heart, and examine them briefly the next day after, when they come to School again, before they go to other things, how they can say it, and shall commend them that have done well, and encourage others to do the like.[83]

Again,

But the eldest sort that are ready to be ministers, must be diligently practised and perfect in Calvin's Catechism and Institutions, and the New Testament, which the Master shall declare unto them; and especially the Epistles to Timothy.[84]

The Master and Usher were also to be

teaching and noting unto them such wise and godly sentences out of the Scriptures, and other authors, as may stir them up more earnestly

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 207. [81] *Ibid.*, p. 173. [82] *Ibid.*, p. 191. [83] *Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 220. The usher at Aldenham under the rules of November, 1600 (*The Letters Patent Granted by Queen Elizabeth in the 38th Year of her Reign to Richard Platt, Esq.* (1823)) had to teach the ABC, Primer, and Catechism. On Saturday afternoons, while the usher taught his boys to write the Catechism in English, the master exercised his in interpreting the Catechism and New Testament. The practice is evidently much as at Rivington.

thereto, and will them to learn them by heart, and oft to think upon them,[85]

this being the official provision of the time.

Of course, Bishop Pilkington expected the boys to use this training in their own private devotions, and so directs this personal routine for the whole day,[86] but we need not summarize it here, further than to notice a concrete detail or two. They used materials from *Psalter* and *Catechism,* including the graces.[87] Pilkington directs for the graces

that the Schoolmaster and Usher see diligently that every one of the Scholars can say perfectly by heart divers sorts of them, and use them reverently, or else be duly corrected therefore.[88]

One fears that Bishop Pilkington would have thought that Shakspere's jesting Gentlemen in *Measure for Measure* needed correction sadly.

Another fairly full illustration of expected routines is furnished by St. Olave's in 1572, where besides the petty work, already noticed, it was intended to have some advanced work besides, so that the religious training of the advanced students is also mentioned along with that of the petties.

They shall teach the whole cattechisme set out by the Queenes authoritie to the younger sort, and then as they encrease in lerning, that . . . which is translated into englishe lately sett out by the Dean of Pawles (Nowell) which is by the canons appointed to be taught in Grammar Scholes. . . . The Hussher shall sett copies unto the scholers of good matter, sentences of scripture . . . teaching them to read playnly and distinctly.

On Sundays and holydays the teachers were to take their pupils to church

and after any sermon . . . examyne some to see what they bring awaie and to commend the good to their incorigment, and so the contrary.

What happened to the contrary may be guessed from this,

On "the saboth daie," other holydays, Wednesday, Monday and Saturday they to be at evening prayer, and "every tyme that he shall mysse . . . to have fowre stripes."[89]

As the canons of 1571 directed, the pupils were to get the catechisms, learn sentences of scripture, and write up the sermon. Similarly, at Thame (1575),

On every Sunday and feast day the pupils were to go to church, morning and evening, with the master.[90]

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[85]*Ibid.*, p. 219. [86]*Ibid.*, pp. 165 ff. [87]*Ibid.*, pp. 166-167. [88]*Ibid.*, p. 167.
[89]V. C. H., *Surrey,* Vol. II, p. 183. [90]V. C. H., *Oxfordshire,* Vol. I, p. 476.

It will be noticed that the catechisms, writing, and casting accounts get put into the left-over corners of the Saturday and holiday schedule, when the routines of regular work could not be observed. According to the ordinances of Thomas Popeson at Bungay Grammar School in 1591,

> The schoolmaster and scholars were to keep school every Saturday, and every half-holiday [usually Thursday] until 3 o'clock in the afternoon, "for writing and casting accounts with the pen and counters according to their capacities."
>
> Every Saturday afternoon the scholars were to learn all such things as concern the Christian faith and religion both in the Latin and English tongues.[91]

Similarly at Southwell Minster Grammar School, 1577,

> No. 8. Also the said scholemaster shall have his scholers to repayre to the schole everie saturdaie in the after noone, there to exercise theire writinge and other exercises untill evyninge prayer.[92]

At Botisdale by ordinances of October 1, 1576, Sir Nicholas Bacon repeated his provision at St.Alban's in 1570.[93]

> Item the Schollers shall Learne perfectly by harte the articles of the Christian faith, the Lords prayer, Ten Commandments and all such other things as concern the Christian Faith & Religion both in Latin & English tonges and the Scholemaster & Usher shall every Saturday afternoon examine & instructe the Schollers therein.[94]

The same statement word for word is also to be found in the ordinances made by Dean Nowell for Bangor, Wales, in 1568.[95] The reader will notice how such statutes were made up according to some pattern.

Westminster in 1568[96] provides for Saints' Days,

> "Before noon let some psalm or chapter of the New Testament be used for edification; after noon let the catechism be worked on for at least two hours." It was the duty of the teachers to see that the boys "bear themselves modestly as well in church, school, hall, and bedroom as in all processions and playings,"

using where desirable the aid of monitors (two for church). Teachers and boys along with everybody else (no one might be absent without excuse) attended morning and evening prayers and sermons on Sundays and holydays, besides other religious exercises, as one would expect. But they also had their own

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[91] *School Inquiry Commission*, Vol. XIII, p. 135.
[92] V. C. H., *Nottinghamshire*, Vol. II, p. 190. [93] See above, p. 85.
[94] Saunders, *Norwich Grammar School*, p. 144, n 1; *School Inquiry Commission*, Vol. XIII, p. 129. [95] Knight, *Welsh Schools*, p. 100.
[96] MS in Latin, Library of the University of Illinois.

working-day ritual minutely laid down. After the canons of 1571, the copy of the statutes not earlier than 1574, provides for Saints' Days,

Before midday, at least one hour shall be spent, sometimes in learning the catechism, sometimes in learning Scripture; in the afternoon the three highest forms shall show up to the Head Master in verse, the Fourth and Third in Latin prose, and the Second and First in English, a summary of the sermon preached the same day in the morning in the collegiate church.[97]

The catechism has been dropped to the morning with the Scripture, and to obey the canons of 1571 the sermon has become the subject matter for the compositional type each form is studying. We may be mildly amused at the idea of versifying a sermon, though we suspect that the victims were not; but their elders thought it a splendid exercise—they really liked Du Bartas and the most dreary of Christian poets generally. Westminster evidently obeyed the canons of 1571 upon catechism, sentences of Scripture, and sermon notes.

Dean Nowell had once been master at Westminster. When he and Bishop Aylmer of London were called to make statutes for Colchester Grammar School, dated January 13, 1587, they naturally provided for the religious work.

On Sunday and saints' days, morning and evening, the masters and scholars were to attend "the whole time of Common prayer" at "the church in the town where the sermon is made." The master was "one day in the weeke to reade with his scholars, publiquely in the schoole, Mr. Nowell's Catechisme" appointed by the injunctions to be read in every school, either in Greek or Latin.[98]

Since these school statutes were regularly made with the "advice and consent" of high church officials, the Bishop of the diocese usually, as here, being one, these officials would see to it that the orders on religious matters were inserted, and by licensing the schoolmaster and checking upon him in visitations would see that the statutes were at least in these respects obeyed.

The Statutes of Blackburn School December 21, 1597, agreed to September 17, 1600, provide,

All Sondayes and holidayes in the yeare excepted, Shrawe Monday and Tustay all Thursdayes and Saturdayes after noones.

. . . . .

[97]Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 519. [98]V. C. H., *Essex*, Vol. II, p. 503.

Petties shall bee taught by the Gramarians onely, at the appointemente of the Schoole Master or Usher, who shall see that they bee diligently instruckted.

Uppon dayes and tymes excepted from teachinge, the Scollars may be caused by the Schoole Master and the Usher to larne to write, cipher, cast accounte, singe or such licke, and allsoe upon holidayes, and other convenient tymes.

The scrivener was to teach writing-school not more than one month a year, preferably in September.

Noe schollars are to bee admitted to the Schole under the age of fiue yeares, and such onely as shall bee in fittinge soarte, fitt to conceave larninge, & c.

The Schollars . . . shall frequente Divine Service upon Sondayes & Holidayes, for which purtpose there parents and frennds shall apparell them decently, that all excuses of absence may bee remouved.

. . . .

The Authors in Lattin . . . for the principles of religion, some Chathachisme allowed by the Ordinarie, the Spalter, and such like.

The Authors in Greeke . . . the Greeke Testament.

In Hebrue if any bee willinge and fitt there unto some Hebrue Gramar of [*sic*] Splalter.[99]

It becomes apparent, therefore, that Pilkington at Rivington in the 'seventies and Grindal at St. Bees in 1583 represent the usual practice when they ordered that the boys be instructed in the use of the *Psalter* and the *Book of Common Prayer,* without directing the intermediary of a primer. In this aspect the primer had long since been replaced. The boys at Childrey in 1526 had to memorize the "things necessary for serving the priest at mass"; the boys at St. Bees in 1583 needed to know how to "read upon the book" so as to take part in the service as members of a congregation. For private prayer, they needed only to be able to read; they did not need the church as intermediary. For all these purposes, they needed to know how to use the *Psalter* and the *Book of Common Prayer.*

Mr. Noble has demonstrated that Shakspere did have a vivid acquaintance with both the *Psalter* and the *Book of Common Prayer.* As Savage and Fripp had already put it,

From his horn-book learning was associated with religion. School opened and closed with devotions—a reading from the Bible, two staves of a

[99]Stocks, G. A., *The Records of Blackburn Grammar School* (Chetham Society), n. s. Vol. 66, Pt I, pp. 72-4.

psalm, and prayer was the order at Ashby. Stress was there laid on the clear enunciation of the words in the singing, and the training of each boy in turn to start the tune. Scholars attended Church on Sundays, morning and evening, and Chapel when there were "Sermons." At Shrewsbury monitors reported absence or misbehaviour. At Leicester scholars who could write took notes of the sermon. Shakespeare at School and Church sang the metrical psalms.[100]

It is apparent from this rather highly colored summary that Savage and Fripp had no direct statement of the Stratford custom in Shakspere's period at school, and I have found none. But the canons of 1571 and the precedent and consequent general custom make it certain that Stratford also obeyed orders. Shakspere's demonstrated knowledge, therefore, of these various items of school training in religious matters will need no further explanation. They were merely what every "learned grammarian" of his day was required to master.

[100]Savage, Richard and Fripp, Edgar I., *Minutes and Accounts of The Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon,* Vol. III, p. xxvii.

CHAPTER V

THE FORMS OF NOWELL'S CATECHISM

AFTER FIRST PUBLICATION of the full form in 1570, Nowell's catechism had required some further time to take its eventual shapes, and since it was shaping itself to grammar school exactly while Shakspere was there, we need to notice its history closely. Nowell's monument lists as one of his achievements the writing of a triple catechism, and his nephew William Whitaker had also referred to Nowell's Latin catechisms for youth as being three in number.[1] The *Largest Catechism* appeared first in print under date of "xvi cal. jul." under the title *Catechismus, siue prima institutio disciplinaq; pietatis christianae.* Of this form there was another issue in 1570, two issues of another edition in 1571, and known editions in 1572, 1574, 1576, 1580, and 1595. Its greatest currency was thus in the fifteen 'seventies.

Thomas Norton made an English translation of this *Largest Catechism,* which was also published in 1570 by John Day as *A catechism, or first instruction of christian religion.* Since Day's ten-year privilege of May 6, 1567, mentioned specifically "the A. B. C. with the little Catechism" but no other, he found it advisable to register in 1569-70 an *Instruction or cathec*[*e*]*sme for chyldren.*[2] Day then took care to have Nowell in all forms specifically inserted in his next privilege, 1577. For convenience of reference, this translation was so printed as to correspond page for page with the Latin. There were known reprints in 1571, 1573, and 1575. Thus the currency of the English translation corresponds to that of the Latin. But the demand for the Latin was greater and continued after that for the English had ceased not many years after 1575. This form of Nowell's catechism was more prized by those who read Latin, doubtless by the clergy generally.

Nowell's nephew, William Whitaker, made a translation of this largest form into Greek, which was printed in 1573, in

[1]Jacobson, W., *Catechismus . . . Auctore Alexandro Nowell,* p. xxxviii.
[2]Arber, *Transcript,* Vol. I, p. 415. The *Short Title Catalogue* wrongly attaches this to the *Institution* of Nowell, not the *Instruction.*

parallel with the Latin. This is the only known edition. Thus the *Largest Catechism* had its greatest currency 1570-75, only the Latin form having known editions thereafter.

This *Largest Catechism* was eventually superseded for grammar school by the *Middle Catechism.* In his preface to the *Largest Catechism* in 1570 Nowell expresses the intention of reducing it to such a shorter form. Nowell's dedicatory epistle to Norton's English translation of this middle form is dated "Nouemb. 1572," and a copy in the Bodleian is said to be of 1572, though I cannot certainly determine the last numeral in a photographic facsimile of it.[3] In this epistle of November, 1572, Nowell refers to the complete Latin-English system of the triple catechisms. He says some may think the *Least Catechism* too short and the *Largest Catechism* too long. So,

> for their vse I say, and contentation, I haue here abridged the largest *Catechisme* in such sort, I trust, as it may seeme neither much defectiue in any necessary poyntes of *Christian Religion,* neyther very superfluous in any vnnecessary circumstances, and amplifications, neither in consequence of matter, greatly swaruing from good order. That as the least *Catechisme* is most meete for the first entring of children, or others, though of more age, yet not of the greatest capacitie: so might this of the middle sort serue for such, as hauing somewhat profited, were yet desirous of further instruction: and lastly such as not cõtented to know the cheefe pointes of *Christian Religion* breefly set forth, were desirous also to see & vnderstand the reasons & proufes of the same, may finde in the largest *Catechisme* wherwith to content & satisfie their mindes: so that none should lacke instructions of godlinesse meete for them, of what age or capacitie soeuer they were. The which three *Catechismes* being purely translated into the Latine toung, may not onely serue young beginners, or more forward scholers, in the Grammer schole, to the same vses, & to the learning of true religion, & the right vse of the Latin speach with one labour: but the last also might seeme not vnprofitable vnto many Ecclesiasticall Ministers for diuers good purposes.

It would appear from this statement that the full Latin-English system of triple catechisms was complete by November, 1572.

[3] A photographic facsimile has been granted to the Library of the University of Illinois by the Bodleian. This copy once belonged to Herbert and has his characteristic reference to Ames on its title page. Herbert quotes from a section at the bottom of the page which has now been torn off. Since he does not quote in full, but gives an "&c." where the missing material would start, the section was probably already missing, but he quoted the formula of privilege as if it were intact. He gives the date of the volume as 1572, but wrongly "Nouemb. 1571" as the date appended to the dedication, which is certainly November, 1572 (Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities,* Vol. I, p. 654).

The Latin form of the *Middle Catechism* had thus been prepared before November 1572, though the earliest edition recorded in *S. T. C.* is 1574. It is said by Churton and Jacobson to have been printed in the same year as the *Largest Catechism,* 1570;[4] but I have found no evidence for their statement. Since it mentions Sandys as Bishop of London, it is later than June 2, 1570.[5] Further, the orders of April, 1571, mention only one form, with English translation, and that as published in 1570. They do not mention the Greek, for that certainly came into print later than April, 1571. It is presumably for the same reason that the *Middle Catechism* is not mentioned. The Latin of it was thus printed probably between April 1571 and November, 1572, when the English translation of it is dated. Textual relations are wholly clear that the Latin text of the *Largest Catechism* as printed in 1570 is the original form. Then the section on the sacraments as it appears in Nowell's Latin translation of the *Little Catechism* is an abridgment direct from the full form. Thus this was the next form. Then this section has been taken over in its proper place in the *Middle Catechism* with minor stylistic retouchings. Hence this is certainly the order of Nowell's own work, and it fits exactly our other facts. Incidentally, Norton also used the English translation of this section of the *Little Catechism* for the *Middle Catechism,* changing it only where a change in the Latin made a change unavoidable. The title of the Latin version of the *Middle Catechism* reads *Christianae pietatis prima institutio ad vsum scholarum.* The title makes it clear where this form was to be used, *ad vsum scholarum.* So also does Norton's English translation of it, *"A catechisme, or institution of christian religion, to bee learned of all youth next after the little catechisme, appointed in the Booke of Common Prayer."* Editions of this are recorded in *S. T. C.* to 1638, corresponding to the spread of its Latin original, and that is merely the terminus of *S. T. C.,* not of Nowell.

Nothing is said of the Greek translations in the epistle of November, 1572, prefixed to the English translation of the *Middle Catechism.* But this *Middle Catechism* was also translated eventually into Greek by Whitaker, the first known

[4]Churton, *Nowell,* p. 173; Jacobson, *Catechismus,* pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.
[5]Le Neve, John, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1854), Vol. II, p. 301.

edition, in parallel with the Latin, being in 1575, and Whitaker's preface also bearing that date. Incidentally, Whitaker himself here points out that his parallel Greek version for the *Middle Catechism* is the last of the three. The Greek of the *Largest Catechism* was published in 1573, and was doubtless the first printing, since no mention was made of the Greek versions in November 1572. The church catechism in Greek thus doubtless came between the *Largest Catechism,* 1573, and the *Middle Catechism,* 1575. Three other editions of the Greek-Latin of the *Middle Catechism* are listed in *S. T. C.,* the last being in 1638.[6] Thus the *Middle Catechism* evidently became the form commonly used in grammar schools, and was so intended from the beginning.

The third form of catechism which went under the name of Nowell is the *Catechismus paruus pueris primùm Latinè qui ediscatur, proponendus in scholis,* first recorded edition 1573. As we have seen, Nowell had made additions to the *Little Catechism* about 1571. He then translated this form into Latin, as above. Whitaker next translated it into Greek, and there are known parallel-text editions of the Latin and Greek in 1574, 1584, 1633. In his preface, Nowell says he has translated the *Little Catechism* from the vulgar tongue into pure Latin, so that as soon as the boys enter grammar school they may have a small and pious book ready to be memorized literally. Since they have previously mastered it in English (as *The ABC with the Catechism*) that will facilitate the mastery in Latin. If any think the responses in places too prolix for boyish genius and memory, Nowell's excuse is that he did not dare depart from the authorized form. It will be noticed, incidentally, that Nowell expected the boys in effect to use a form of parallel translation from English to Latin.

The Greek was then provided in parallel to the Latin so that when the boys began the study of Greek they would again begin with the catechism as in English and in Latin. Nowell repeats the first part of his dedication to the Latin form word for word, almost, through his statement that the boys were to memorize it literally. Then he continues that at his request his kinsman William Whitaker had turned this catechism into Greek that

[6]There were, of course, editions later than the period covered by the *S. T. C.,* extending at least into the eighteenth century.

the boys might get the rudiments of the Christian religion along with the elements of Latin and Greek speech, so that they might grow in piety and literacy at the same time. If under the authority of the bishops this little book be published to be learned in Latin first in the lowest forms and then later in Greek, the boys can thence make a beginning toward higher things and obtain them.

To carry out the parallel, the Greek form was provided with a precedent *Alphabetum Graecum* of four pages, just as the English had its ABC, which did not need to be repeated for the Latin. The Greek alphabet occupies a page, and is followed by three other pages *De diuisione literarum, Diuisio Consonantium,* and *De Accentibus.* Watson[7] appears to imply that these four pages are taken directly from the particular form of the *Alphabetum Graecum* with materials from Andreas Joannes Lascaris (not Constantinus). But the fundamental material here for both this form of the *Alphabetum Graecum* and Whitaker's four pages is from Clenardus. Whitaker's alphabet follows the format of Clenardus, but with the changes in the column on *pronunciatio* which appear in the *Alphabetum Graecum.* Whitaker follows the order of Clenardus for all these preliminary materials, and thus does not have the section *De pronvntiatione et sono literarum omnium* between the alphabet and *De divisione literarvm* as has the *Alphabetum Graecum,* this section of which is based upon a *scholium* to Clenardus. In the sections *De diuisione literarum* and *Diuisio Consonantium,* the headings, arrangement of materials, and the framework phraseology are as in the *Alphabetum Graecum,* but all fundamentals have been made to conform to Clenardus, and explanatory materials have also been added from that source. The section *De Accentibus* is a direct adaptation from Clenardus. In effect, therefore, Whitaker has adapted the first pages of Clenardus, taking the *Alphabetum Graecum,* itself here adapted from Clenardus, as his model of arrangement, and using its phraseology where it would serve. If Whitaker himself did not make this adaptation, someone else did, from whom Whitaker then borrowed.[8]

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[7]Watson, *Grammar Schools,* p. 168 and n 2.

[8]I have used as a basis for my discussion of the *Alphabetum Graecum* films from copies in the Newberry Library of the editions printed 1550, *Alphabetum Graecum Regiis trium generum characteribus postremò excusum,* and 1580 by the Stephanus press. There may have been other forms which I have not seen.

The *Alphabetum Graecum* was thus designed to precede Clenardus, and Whitaker has prepared his form of the Greek Catechism to supplant the *Alphabetum Graecum* as this first Greek text. The catechism itself furnished the essential religious materials of the *Alphabetum Graecum.* The contents of the latter as given by Watson would be approximately correct for the various forms.

For example, the *Alphabetum Graecum* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1553) contains:

The letters, diphthongs, and other conjunctions of letters. A short treatise follows, De veris Graecarum Literarum apud antiquos formis, et causis, ex Jano Lascare.

Then follow numerals in Greek.

Then, in Greek and Latin, Lord's Prayer, Salutation, Creed, Ten Commandments, Prayer of Manasseh, King of Judah, Song of Zachariah, the Magnificat, the Beatitudes, Grace before and after meat.[9]

The Stephanus form of 1550 does not contain the Beatitudes and the Graces, though a few graces are added in 1580. It includes, however, various other materials. The addition of tables of the characters used in the Greek Testaments of this press is particularly interesting as showing what was expected to follow this *Alphabetum Graecum.* This was also the expectation in England, as we shall see in a later work.

Whitaker has reduced such philological materials as are contained in the *Alphabetum Graecum* to their bare essentials in four pages, with Clenardus as his authority, and has substituted the *Little Catechism* for the religious materials. It would be interesting to know whether his Greek translation of the basic religious materials (Decalogue, Creed, and Lord's Prayer) has been affected by the version of the *Alphabetum Graecum,* but that is a study of some magnitude in itself. In England, the boy would now begin upon Whitaker's Greek Catechism, facilitated by his memory of the parallel English and Latin forms. Clenardus would ordinarily furnish the grammar, and Whitaker has furnished an ABC analogous to that in the English *ABC with the Catechism,* which he has adapted from Clenardus on the model of the *Alphabetum Graecum.* We may be reasonably certain that William Shakspere's first steps toward "lesse Greeke" were directed by

[9]Watson, *Grammar Schools,* p. 168.

Whitaker's Greek Catechism and Clenardus, with the Greek Testament anxiously hovering in the background. Here is where we should look for his toddling footprints, not in the Greek tragedians and what not!

It may be noticed in passing that Whitaker and the *Alphabetum Graecum* use the pronunciation of Greek which had been advocated by Ascham and his group, as Clenardus originally had not. It is thus interesting to notice how Clenardus has been "corrected" on these matters in England. For instance, Whitaker and the *Alphabetum Graecum* give the *pronunciatio* of beta as b, though they retain its Latin *Nomen* as *Vita.* In an edition of Clenardus, Paris, 1566, which I bought in England, an old hand has struck out the "u" *pronunciatio* of beta and inserted "b". Whitaker and the *Alphabetum Graecum* give "e tenue" and "e densum" where Clenardus in this edition has "e" and "i"; but in an edition at Paris, 1563, the second is given as "i,e". In an edition at Antwerp, 1549, the letters are distinguished as "e tenue" and "e longum"; and consequently in an edition *Coloniae Agrippinae* of 1579, which was much bescribbled in England, someone has added "breue" to the first "e" and "longum" to the second. This is the form Whitaker and the *Alphabetum Graecum* eventually follow and correct. English schoolmasters in turn caused Clenardus to be corrected with the pen to these standards. Whitaker and the schoolmasters evidently agreed with Ascham as to the proper Greek pronunciation, following the school of the *Alphabetum Graecum.*

And Shakspere's Holofernes fits into this tradition; "as to speak dout, fine, when he should say doubt," etc.[10] Armado pronounces "dout" fine or *tenue,* thus outraging the English petty-schoolmaster's god of orthography. So Holofernes prefers the technical term *tenue* or fine to *breue* or short. Presumably, he would prefer its mate *densum* to *longum.* Shakspere was thus certainly aware of this distinction, from whatever source he may have derived his knowledge. If he had "smalle Greeke" as Jonson says, then he is almost certain to have met the distinction between *tenue* and *densum* in the ABC to his Greek catechism. But since it was a widely current distinction, Shakspere is likely to have had it from other sources

[10] *Love's Labor's Lost,* V, 1, 22 ff.

long before he came to this stage of his grammar school work. It is probably significant that he put it into the mouth of a petty-school teacher, whose business it was to teach orthography and to prevent its being racked in pronunciation. Shakspere associates it with petty-school, as well he might. At least, we now know what Holofernes meant by his criticism.[11]

With Nowell, grammar youth's progress to salvation might now be made with linguistic safety. For it will be seen that from the beginning his Latin catechism was intended primarily for studious youth, to replace the authorized Latin catechism with English translation of 1553. This aim at youth Nowell himself points out in the edition of 1570, indicating too that he had transplanted many flowers from Cicero's garden to make his Latin good for the style as well as for the morals of the boys. He has thus ornamented and amplified the style that the boys might learn good Latin with their piety, and not need to rely so much on the profane, fictitious, and sometimes impious Latin poets. But in 1570 he already intended to publish the catechism condensed into as small a space as possible for those who wished brevity, and had done so by November, 1572.

In his English translation of the full form in 1570, Norton makes clear exactly where and how he expected it to be used.

> Whereas there was very lately a Latin Catechism printed, wherein the sum of Christian religion was set forth in short questions and answers, yet not containing bare and naked affirmations only, but shewing also some causes and reasons to the same annexed, and well furnished with places of scripture noted in the margin for proof thereof; in which Catechism there hath also great labour and diligence been bestowed about the purity of the Latin tongue, that such as were studious of that language, specially the youth, might at once with one labour learn the truth of religion and the pureness of the Latin tongue together. That Catechism I have thought good to translate into English, as well for the use of such as understand no Latin at all, as also for their commodity, who, having a little sight in that language, desire some more perfection therein. For which cause I have not used that liberty in rendering the sense at large which the order of translation doth permit unto me, but have willingly, for the benefit of the meaner learned, tied myself very much to observing of the words themselves, but so yet that I had alway regard to the natural property and easiness of our native tongue.
>
> This book as it will be profitable to such as do understand English only, so will it bring double profit to those, who, being somewhat skilled

[11] Our best authority, *The New English Dictionary*, is completely off the trail here, and so far as I can find gives no other instance of this usage.

in the Latin tongue and desiring more skill, will compare the Latin book with the English, whereby they may at once learn, as I said, the truth of religion and the purity of the Latin tongue. And, lest the reader desirous to compare any the parts or sentences of the Latin and English books might be hindered, I have procured that the English print answereth the Latin, page for page, throughout the whole books, so that any sentence may at the first easily be found in both the books. This exercise in my opinion is most meet for the use of such ecclesiastical ministers and studious youth as have not yet the perfect knowledge either of religion or of the Latin speech, who by experience may find (as I think) more profit hereby than they would suppose upon the first view. Neither is this conference of translations by them who be very well learned judged unprofitable for such as are competently learned.

The book hath also one further use of very good exercise for those that desire to see more at large how the doctrine herein taught is confirmed by the word of God, the only rule of true religion; that is, if such as shall read it to learn truth, but specially ecclesiastical ministers whose charge is to teach truth, shall resort to the places of scripture noted in the margin, and read them in the Bible at large, and then mark how each thing here affirmed is there well confirmed, and how the doctrine here delivered is not only in all parts fully approved by God's holy word, but also for the most part uttered in the very words of the text, so far as may be with respect of pureness of the Latin phrase; by which mean they shall also be occasioned to be better acquainted with the scriptures themselves and with the true and natural understanding of them. And therein be it remembered that the last numbers in the quotations, shewing the divisions within the chapters, are gathered according to the great Bible last printed. This exercise whoso shall assay shall find it of marvellous great profit, both for conceiving truth to the satisfying of conscience, and for delivering truth to the discharge of duty.

It may perhaps be marvelled of some, why throughout the book, as well in the Latin as in this translated, the master asketh, the scholar answereth, and ever the declaration of the matter is put in the scholar's mouth, so as some may muse why the scholar may seen to be made wiser than the master. This objection hath easy answer; and such answer as it hath I thought meet to disclose. It may not be thought that the master here inquireth of the scholar as desirous to learn of him, nor that the scholar informeth the master as presuming to teach him. But the master opposeth the scholar to see how he hath profited, and the scholar rendereth to the master to give accompt of his memory and diligence. And that it may appear that this order of opposing by the master and rendering by the scholar for good reason might seem to the author more convenient than the other form which some other writers of catechisms have used, that is, of inquiring by the scholar and teaching by the master, (without prejudice alway or condemning the other) it may be remembered that the end and purpose of catechism is in good and natural order fitly applied to serve the good use of confirmation by the bishop, at which time the

bishop which confirmeth doth not teach but examine, and in his whole manner of opposing useth such form as here in like sort the *Catechumenus* or child is prepared unto; which is also not done without example, for the same manner is in the short catechism now used in the Church of England at confirmation.[12]

Norton prepares his translation for those studious of Latin, "specially the youth." He has, therefore, given a close translation, and has had it parallel the Latin page for page.[13] This "conference of translations" he considered profitable even for the learned as well as for the unlearned. He wished the student also to check down the basic references in the margins, these being made to the Great Bible. The method of having the master ask and the student answer he justifies principally on the ground that this is the method of the Short (Brief, Little, Small, Least) Catechism and was so established because at confirmation the bishop asks and the child replies. Incidentally, this is the method generally used in grammar school, and here is its reason.

Norton is concerned with making good doctrine fully intelligible, especially to studious youth. Shortly thereafter it was found advisable to make a special form for youth, as Nowell had intimated in his dedicatory preface to the full form in 1570 he intended to do. This was *Christianae pietatis prima institutio ad vsum scholarum.* In his introduction to the parallel Greek and Latin version of this shorter form Nowell points out that he had written in Latin his *Prima Christianae Pietatis Institutio Puerilis* in various forms; in this little book briefly, in the other much more copiously. These *Institutions* in Latin two of his friends have provided with translations, the one into English, the other into Greek, for all three of them wish to make the work as widely available as possible. For from what book could the boys better learn to read English than from one which would imbue their tender minds with piety? Nowell and his colleagues thus agree heartily with Erasmus as to the first and most important duty of education.

But the duty of forming boyhood consists of many parts, of which as it is the first so it is the chief that the tender little mind imbibe impreg-

[12]Corrie, *Catechism,* pp. 107-109.

[13]William Hayne was not content with a translation, and produced construes. In 1611 he notes among construes which he has used "this twenty yeares and vpwards" one of Nowell's Latin Catechism, another of Whitaker's Greek translation, besides other works used in religious education (*Certaine Epistles of Tvlly* (1611), G6v-G7v).

nations of piety; second that it both love and master liberal disciplines; the third is that it be instructed in the duties of life; the fourth is that from the very first beginnings of life it be habituated to civility of behavior.[14]

But to continue with Nowell's introduction, he thinks also that a study of the English will teach boy or man to pronounce more rightly and to write more correctly. And when the learned and pious teachers begin to teach the elements of Latin, what better could they do than to use a little book of which the English has already been mastered? The boys will then find the mastery of the Latin easy and pleasant. When they have mastered the Latin, they will have no less delight in mastering the Greek through the Latin by the same methods. This was Cicero's advised method for mastering the Greek. This is the method by which he learned to surpass all others in copy, variety, faculty, facility, propriety, and elegance. By applying the method to these materials, the boys can get ingrained piety besides. This is his aim.

So Nowell and his friends are applying by 1575, perhaps by 1570, to the fundamentals of church doctrine the method of Cicero, which Ascham had also advocated in his *Scholemaster,* printed in 1570.[15] But Ascham had first wanted a cutting over the pattern of Cicero's Latin, before he came to the higher stage of conferring the Greek and the Latin as Cicero had done. Being so rigid a purist, Ascham might have objected to the quality of Nowell's Latin, though Nowell had sown it with Cicero's flowers, and he might for similar reasons have found fault with the Greek. But the general method would likely have found favor in his sight.

Because the method had been used and recommended by Cicero, it was the most approved practice to get at the Greek through the Latin translation—remember Chapman's Homer! This custom of learning Greek through Latin translation was probably the strongest actual influence toward using vernacular translations by similar methods to approach the Latin. At any rate, when one's soul was at stake, there could be no paramount hesitation about his style. Consequently, it was early the custom in moral instruction to use translations. It had been King

[14]Erasmus, D., *Opera Omnia* (1703), Vol. I, p. 1033.

[15]In *William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* I have sketched the previous history of these methods in England.

Henry's first purpose to see that essential religious instruction be given always in a language that the individual understood; therefore, first of all in English. Thence the individual may develop into Latin and Greek. The method was eventually applied to the catechism as we have just seen. An earlier device was to give verses from the Bible in translation as Englishes to be turned into Latins. This would help satisfy the requirement that boys learn verses from the Bible. This method was generally applied also to classical moral *sententiae*. Consequently, even Cicero's *De Officiis* early was put into parallel by Nicholas Grimald and was used in numerous editions. On the Reformation side, that of moral philosophy, the use of English translation in parallel with the Latin may be regarded as the rule. This rule extended through the Greek, not only for religious and moral materials but also for purely literary authors, for this had Cicero's sanction and example as the undoubted best practice. Hence the general rule for grammar school texts was parallel Latin and Greek. It was merely the literary authors in Latin who were not to be contaminated with the vernacular, for fear of injuring Latin style. If, therefore, the particular schoolmaster was most interested in Reformation, he would be likely to use English translation as an aid even with these; if he was most interested in Renaissance, he would avoid as much as possible the danger of contaminating Latin style with the vernacular.

Those who emphasized the Renaissance element were naturally interested in emphasizing purity of style in Latin, and so attempted to avoid the contamination of the vernacular. But those who emphasized Reformation were as naturally interested in emphasizing an understanding of moral content, in whatever language or style that could most effectively be done. One must first save his soul, elegantly if possible, but inelegantly if he must. Consequently, the schoolmasters in this phase of their work began with the vernacular and proceeded through Latin to Greek to Hebrew.

Thus it appears that Shakspere should have had his *ABC with the Catechism* in English before he entered grammar school about 1571. If Nowell's Latin translation of this had been published before November 1572, as he implies, though the first surviving copy is of 1573, then Shakspere probably

proceeded to the Latin form at no long time after his entrance to grammar school. When eventually he came to his small Greek, probably not earlier than 1575, he is likely to have begun his Greek ABC's with the Greek version in parallel with the Latin. Nowell's *Middle Catechism* was probably available in both English and Latin not long after Shakspere should have entered grammar school about 1571, and he could later have had the Latin-Greek form when he came to the Greek. Since there were known editions of this latter form in 1575, 1577, 1578, though not another recorded till 1638, it seems that in Shakspere's day in grammar school the Greek *Middle Catechism* was taken seriously. Shakspere is likely to have had both the *Little Catechism* and Nowell's *Middle Catechism* in that language. He could also have used Nowell's *Largest Catechism* either or both in English or Latin. A Greek translation of this form too was available but in only one edition and had been superseded for school purposes by the middle form. I believe there is abundant evidence to show that Shakspere knew Nowell's catechism in some form or forms, and some hints will be given later; but there is not space in this work for any lengthy demonstration. This brand-new theological broom is certain to have swept Shakspere's conscience clean.

CHAPTER VI

THE FORM OF SHAKSPERE'S *ABC WITH THE CATECHISM*

AS WE HAVE ABUNDANTLY SEEN, *The ABC with the Catechism* was by Shakspere's day the fundamental text of petty school. The ABC itself, however, would usually be mastered first from the Horn ABC. The *New English Dictionary* defines horn-book as

> A leaf of paper containing the alphabet (often with the addition of the ten digits, some elements of spelling, and the Lord's Prayer) protected by a thin plate of translucent horn, and mounted on a tablet of wood with a projecting piece for a handle . . . For an exhaustive account see A. W. Tuer, *History of the Horn-Book* (1896).

From the wit-combat of Moth and Holofernes in *Love's Labor's Lost,* to be discussed later, it is clear that the form of hornbook which Shakspere knew contained at least the alphabet, the vowels, and the elements of syllabication. John Lyly in *Pappe with an Hatchet* (1589) says "such vnmannerlie knaues as Martin, must bee set againe to their A.B.C. and learne to spell *Our Father* in a Horne booke."[1] Thus the Elizabethan form had also the Lord's Prayer, which was conventionally introduced by "In the name," etc. I know nothing to indicate that in addition the Elizabethan form had the ten digits. Since we know the contents of the Elizabethan hornbook closely enough for our purposes, it is hardly worth our while to consider whether any genuine exemplar survives from the period.[2]

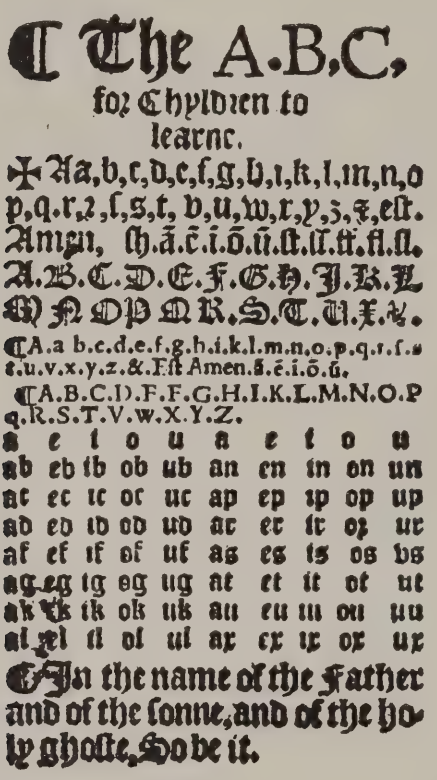
If the reader wonders why the hornbook was so well fortified and yet why so few exemplars even of recent time survive, perhaps Coote can enlighten him as to the practical problems involved.

> But methought I heard thee say, that my reasons have perswaded thee to be willing to teach this, but thou canst not move all their Parents to be willing to bestow so much money in a book at the first. Tell them

[1]Bond, R. W., *The Complete Works of John Lyly,* Vol. III, p. 404.

[2]Savage and Fripp, *Minutes and Accounts,* Vol. III, Frontispiece, give facsimiles fore and aft of the oak mount, supposedly of a hornbook, which is said to have been found at Anne Hathaway's Cottage in 1926. It is not of the conventional dimensions nor shape for a horn-book.

from me, that they need buy no more, and then they shall save much by the bargain. But they will reply, that this little young child will have torn it before it be half learned. Then answer, that a remedy is provided for that also, which is this; First the Printer upon sight hereof, framed


¶ The A.B.C.
for Children to
learne.
✠Aa,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,k,l,m,n,o
p,q,r,ſ,ſ,s,t, v,u,w,x,y,ȝ,ꝛ,eſt.
Amen, ch.ã.ẽ.i.õ.ũ.ſt.ſſ.ſt.fl.ſl.
A.B.C.D.E.F.G.H.J.K.L
M N O P Q R.S.T.U.X.Y.
¶A.a b.c.d.e.f.g.h.i.k.l.m.n.o.p.q.r.ſ.s
t.u.v.x.y.z.& Fit Amen.ã.ẽ.i.õ.ũ.
¶A.B.C.D.F.F.G.H.I.K.L.M.N.O.P
q.R.S.T.V.w.X.Y.Z.
a e i o u ã ẽ ĩ õ ũ
ab eb ib ob ub an en in on un
at ec ic oc uc ap ep ip op up
ad ed id od ud ar er ir or ur
af ef if of uf as es is os us
ag eg ig og ug at et it ot ut
ak ek ik ok uk au eu iu ou uu
al el il ol ul ax ex ix ox ux
¶In the name of the Father
and of the ſonne, and of the ho-
ly ghoſte, So be it.

Alphabet, from fragment of an *ABC* printed by John Day, c. 1551. Reproduced from photostat of original at Ushaw College, Durham, England, by permission. Shakspere's ABC proper would have been of this type. His preceding hornbook might not have had the roman alphabet, and would have added the Lord's Prayer in black letter.

the Horn book according to the order of this book, making the first part of my second page the matter thereof, which in my opinion he did with good reason: for a child may by this Treatise almost learn to spell perfectly in as little time as learn well the Horn-book. But this latter being first learned, being the ground-work of spelling, all the rest of this work will be gotten with small labour. Secondly, I have so disposed

the placing of my first book, that if a child should tear out every leaf so fast as he learneth, yet it shall not be greatly hurtful: for, every new following Chapter repeateth and teacheth again all that went before.[3]

Coote thought he had matched the powers of destruction of the ordinary small boy. Fortified with English oak behind and horn before, the metal-bound page of printed material enshrined in the hornbook was reasonably safe from the initial onslaughts of the little white hands—maybe sometimes—of the "babees." But as a defense in depth Coote had taken care to make constant repetition in his sequent book to meet the expected rate of attrition. These old schoolmasters knew a few things about practical educational engineering too.

When the child had mastered the materials of the hornbook, the Absey book was next in line. Unfortunately, no complete copy of *The ABC with the Catechism* is known from Shakspere's day. But there are two fragments of the form which Dean Nowell prepared about 1571, and fortunately each enables us to reconstruct its signature, of which there were but two. Having reconstructed this form of about 1571, we can then infer certain facts as to the form which preceded. A fragment of signature A from an edition of about 1584 has been used by Anders in an attempt to reconstruct the type. Unfortunately, he did not understand the physical makeup of the fragment and assumed that it had consisted of ten pages of an octavo signature, whereas it had consisted of twelve. I shall, therefore, correct his description.

Summary of Contents: On the reverse side of the title-page there is an engraving of the interior of an Elizabethan schoolroom with the instructor in the middle, and boys and girls seated along the walls on box-like benches.

On the third page are alphabets in black-letter, in roman, and italic characters, and simple spelling exercises followed on page 4 by an invocation of the Trinity and the beginning of the Catechism as far as "I should beleeue all th[e articles of the Ch]ristian faith. And . . . " Pages [5, 6, 7, and 8] are missing; but page [9] has the conclusion of the tenth commandment, and then follow questions on duties towards God and our neighbours. On page [9] we note the words "to honor & obey the Queene, and hir Ministers." The questions are continued on page [10] and followed by the Lord's Prayer [11] with questions thereon till "through our Lord Iesus Christ, and therfore I saie, Amen.", with which

[3]Coote, *School-Master* (1673), Preface to the Reader.

the Elizabethan catechism ended. Then follows on the next page [12] an admonition on the duties of subjects, which, I believe, is quite unique. With this admonition (not concluded) the fragment breaks off. Finally, it seems quite certain there must have been in the *ABC* certain graces before and after meat such as we generally find in *ABC-books* and primers of earlier and later dates.[4]

Fortunately, there is still another supplementary fragment of *The ABC with the Catechism,* printed by the assigns of John Day in 1582. This had belonged to Heber,[5] and passed to the Bodleian.[6] All of signature A is missing; also B_1. B_2 and B_3 are imperfect. B_4 through [B_7] have only slight imperfections. Since the imprint is on the verso of [B_7], presumably [B_8] was a blank. From the fragment described by Anders, we can reconstruct signature A; and from this fragment, signature B. Signature A had broken off with an admonition to subjects. This section on duties is concluded on the verso of B_2.

From the Latin translation of Nowell and the Greek of Whitaker we know what the contents of this catechism were. As Churton, basing upon the Latin and Greek translations and upon the English fragment of 1582 puts it, this catechism

> is in substance the church catechism, as we now have it, including the part upon the Sacraments. The first part consists of the same number of questions and answers as the church catechism, and is an exact translation of it, with one digressional enlargement, after the Duty to our neighbour in general, on the relative duties of subjects, children, parishioners, servants, parents, masters, and married persons. The part upon the sacraments does not so exactly tally with the present church catechism, but has rather the appearance of being (as no doubt it was) the original work, from which the latter was composed, by compressing it a little, and dividing it into portions somewhat shorter, and omitting, as less necessary, two questions and answers, one against transubstantiation, and the other against the notion of the Lord's supper being a sacrifice for the remission of sins.[7]

Nearly all of the part relating to the sacraments is preserved in the English fragment of 1582, beginning on the verso of B_2 and ending on the verso of [B_5]. The remainder of the text in this signature is occupied by twelve "Godlie graces to be said before or after meate," followed by

[4]Anders, *ABC,* pp. 33-34. Facsimile of fragment given.
[5]*Bibliotheca Heberiana,* Part VI, p. 47, item 658. It had previously belonged to Brand. Churton saw this, and refers to it in his life of Nowell, p. 409.
[6]I have used a photographic facsimile, granted to the Library of the University of Illinois. [7]Churton, *Nowell,* p. 183.

This little Catechisme learnd
by hart, (for so it ought:)
The Primer next commanded is,
for Children to be taught.[8]

It will be seen that in the English version the catechism was printed intact, without interruption, its end being marked by an ornament. Thus it occupied eight pages, as we shall see that the precedent form did, though the division between pages was not exactly the same. Then followed the duties, the sacraments, and the graces. This arrangement is important, since it gives us some clue to the probable makeup of the precedent form.

This was the arrangement of the English version of c. 1571. In the Latin translation, Nowell has transposed the duties to follow the nuclear section on duty to our neighbor in general, within the catechism itself; and the Greek in this respect follows the Latin. Also, Nowell has translated only the first six of the graces into the Latin version. The ultimate form of *The ABC with the Catechism*[9] selects seven of the twelve graces, adds one from John Knox's *Book of Common Order,* 1564,[10] and rearranges the sequence. The order of the first three is the same as in 1582; the fourth is eventually from Knox; the fifth is the ninth of 1582; the sixth is the fifth; the seventh is the fourth; and the eighth and last is the twelfth and last of 1582.

Nowell's form of the *Little Catechism* took shape, as we have seen, about 1571. It is clear from the facts concerning the origin of his set of graces that it was assembled about that time. It will be remembered that Nowell was credited by contemporaries with having written this form of the *Little Catechism.* Since the *Little Catechism* and ABC occupy less than half the work, we can now see why Nowell was so credited. Presumably, therefore, the sections on duties and sacraments, and the graces represent Nowell's additions and constitute his claim. We shall, therefore, speak of them as his.

[8]Jacobson, writing in 1844, thought he was describing this copy, when he speaks of a copy at the Bodleian as "imperfect, without date," whereas this copy is dated. If his statements are all accurate, he saw another copy, which lacked only a leaf or two at the beginning (Jacobson, *Catechismus,* pp. xxxvi-xxxvii). But such a copy does not appear to be now forthcoming.

[9]I use as a basis of comparison my copy of 1793, but a copy of 1683 appears already to have had this arrangement (Anders, *ABC,* p. 45).

[10]Anders, *ABC,* p. 45. This was doubtless the ultimate source, but see below.

Nowell's version of the *Little Catechism,* however, would have been too late for Shakspere's first efforts upon *The ABC with the Catechism* in petty school, though he is likely to have formed a fairly intimate acquaintance with it when later he probably faced its Latin and Greek forms. We need, therefore, to know what form of catechism preceded Nowell's. The ABC and Catechism proper would have been wholly or approximately the same, of course. The only question would be as to the supplementary graces which filled out the single octavo signature, as this form would have been.

Fortunately, John Day prefixed in a telltale way his catechism to *The first parte of the Psalmes collected into Englishe Meter, by Thomas Sternholde, and others,* 1564.[11] Its signatures run through A_4, followed by an unsigned leaf. Then the psalms begin on A_2 and run consecutively. Thus A_1 of the psalms should have been the title-page in separate publication. Also, the catechism had been constructed in eights. Day has not troubled to harmonize the signatures of the two units, but has conflated them as they were. He substituted a general title for A_1 of the catechism, cut [A_{6-8}] of the catechism, and A_1 of the psalms. Thus we know that A_1 of the catechism had been printed with title on recto, and that the catechism began on the recto of A_2. The verso of A_1 must thus have been occupied by the ABC proper, instead of the cut of a school room as in Nowell's form. This had been the arrangement of the old ABC printed by Day, with "the alphabet and elements of spelling" on the verso of the title-page.[12] The ABC would doubtless be the same material as in the earlier form, which also occupied a page. The catechism then extends through [A_5], occupying eight pages as in the Nowell form as printed about 1584. The signatures run through A_4, indicating a probable octavo quire of sixteen pages. The remaining six pages would have been occupied at least principally, by the graces. Seres in his *Primer* of 1568 required twelve pages for the catechism and seven for the graces, which were those of 1553. Day had required only eight for the catechism. At the same rate, he would have required 12 2/3 or 13 pages for both catechism and

[11]The title-page of an edition of 1566 survives in the Bagford papers (Hazlitt, W. C., *Second Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes,* p. 582).

[12]Anders, *ABC,* p. 42. See above, p. 122.

graces. This fits exactly his space. His probable makeup was thus a title-page, with ABC on verso, for A_1; catechism A_2-A_5; graces probably A_6-A_8r; probably a colophon on A_8v.

Other facts also point to the graces of 1553 as the set which was probably attached. It must first be noticed that the sets of graces have well-defined traditions. The *Primer* of 1551 and its corresponding *Primer and Catechism* of the same year still retain the graces of the *Primer* of 1545, with very slight occasional changes.[13] The reprint of the *Primer* of 1551 in 1559 kept these graces intact. Its corresponding *Primer and Catechism* under Elizabeth also kept these graces intact, but added three from the *Primer* of 1553 to acquire the semblance of uniformity with that set. In the meantime, Powell's catechism of 1545-7 had used the four graces of the *Primer* of 1545, but had attached two others at its end.[14] The catechism of Whytchurch in 1551 took over these six with slight changes,[15] but added several more. The *Primer* of 1553 then fits into this tradition. In 1553,

> Graces: (i), (ii), (iii), and (v) are the same as the first, second, fourth, and sixth graces of Whytchurch's *A,B,C. wyth a Catechisme* (1551) . . . (vi) "Christ which at his last supper promised . . . " is nearly the same as the third in Marshall's *Prymer* (*c.* 1534).[16]

The remainder are untraced.

Here we must take notice of a significant variant in the set of graces attached to the school *Primer and Catechism* of c. 1564, which was abbreviated from the *Primer* of 1553.[17] As we have said, the first of the graces of 1553 belong to a tradition tracing from the *Primer* of King Henry VIII. The *Primer and Catechism* of about 1564 has no one of these, though it has one which had been added to the tradition as early as Powell, 1545-7. But the *Primer* of 1553 has added several further graces from some source, and the *Primer and Catechism* of about 1564 also adapts at least three of its six graces either from that source or from the *Primer* of 1553, presumably the former. The first grace of c. 1564, "Grace before Dinner," is to be found with slight textual differences as

[13]Hoskins, *Horae*, No. 195, p. 248; *Ibid.*, No. 196, p. 250.
[14]Anders, *ABC*, p. 41. [15]Anders, *ABC*, p. 42. [16]Anders, *ABC*, p. 43.
[17]The most special of thanks are due to the British Museum for granting a photographic facsimile of the only known copy to the Library of the University of Illinois at a time when I had no faintest hope that it would be possible.

"A Prayer Before Dinner" in Becon's *The Gouernance of Vertue* (1549).[18] Its second grace, "Grace after dinner," is the first "Thanks after meat" in 1553, which also occurs in Whytchurch's "Geneua. The forme of common praiers vsed in the churches of Geneua," 1550,[19] with but slight differences in phraseology. In several small variants our version of c. 1564 agrees with Whytchurch against 1553, as it does also against Powell's catechism of 1545-7.[20] I have not access to the text of Whytchurch's *ABC wyth a Catechisme* (1551) to determine its readings. The third and fourth graces of c. 1564, in rhyme, have not been traced. The fifth grace, "Grace after supper" berhymes the "Thanks after dinner or supper" of 1553, which is also a doublet of the second grace. The sixth and final grace, which is without heading, is the final rhymed grace of 1553. It seems reasonably clear that the *Primer and Catechism* of about 1564 has adapted some set of graces which was also added in the *Primer* of 1553 to the old set stemming from King Henry's *Primer* of 1545. There are various direct indications of such adaptation, as the fact that the "Grace before meate" is not balanced by a "Grace after meat," but is followed by "Grace before supper," that there is the interjected heading "Praising God" before the "Grace after supper," and that the final grace is thus left as an odd one and given no heading. This new set of graces I have not located, but it had not belonged to the main *Primer* tradition through Marshall and Henry VIII, nor is it to be traced in Hoskins.

It will be noticed that of the two surviving catechisms, both Powell's and Whytchurch's include the graces of the official *Primer* of their time but make additions. Also, the new *Primer* of 1553 forms a new set of graces on the basis of the last known preceding catechism, Whytchurch's; and the set of the old primer is revamped to conform. It will thus be seen that after 1553 Day's catechism should simply have printed at least this official set of graces from the *Primer* of 1553.

Now Nowell's graces in 1582 continue this tradition in a significant way. The first, second, and fourth of the graces

[18]Becon, Thomas, *Works* (Parker Society, Vol. II, p. 401).

[19]U. M. 1454 from *B. M.*, G. 12137; *S. T. C.* 16560. Powell and Geneva also have in common "Praysed be thou our moste merciful and heauenly father," etc. In Powell, these two form a final set of before and after dinner or supper. They are also a contiguous pair in Geneva.

[20]U. M. 691 from *B. M.*, G. 11686; *S. T. C.* 20.

of 1582 fit into a tradition deriving from King Henry VIII's *Primer* of 1545. The first four graces of King Henry's *Primer* had been retained in the ABC of 1545-7, and had also been retained but trimmed in the ABC with catechism of 1551. The first, second, and fourth of this trimmed form are continued in the *Primer* of 1553, as its first, second, and third. Then the form of 1582 further trims this material to become its first, second, and fourth, inserting for its third, a revised form of the fourth in the *Primer* of 1553. It becomes clear, therefore, that the graces of 1582 represent a further stage of evolution beyond those in the *Primer* of 1553.

We may thus first examine them with the *Primer* of 1553 as a basis of comparison. The first "Amen" of the "Grace before dinner" becomes, with only minor textual variants, the first "Grace before meate" in 1582, with indication that the Lord's prayer is to be added. This grace is an adaptation from Psalm 144 (145 in some versions), as Nowell notes in the margin of his Latin translation of it.

The second "Amen" of the "Grace before dinner" has in 1582 become the second grace, as "Grace after meate," and the petition for peace is added: "God saue his Church, our Queene, and the Realme, and send vs peace in Christ our Lord, *Amen.*" Nowell translates this added petition into Latin thus, "Deus Ecclesiam suam vniuersam, Reginam nostram Elisabetham, regnumqué, saluum conseruet, & pacem nobis atque veritatem in Christo Iesu largiatur. Amen." Nowell notes as authority for the grace itself, "Math. 22. Luc. 22."

The third "Amen" of the "Grace after dinner" is not carried over into the ABC book of 1582. Nor is the first part of the "Grace after dinner." But the second and final "Amen" of that grace becomes the fourth grace of 1582,[21] "Grace after meate." Instead of the "Amen" at the end as in 1553 and as in all others of Nowell's graces, there is the Calvinistic "So be it," followed by instruction for the petition for peace. Nowell gives as authority for the grace itself "Psal. 71." Thus the analogue here has drawn Nowell's attention to the graces attached to Calvin's catechism and Sternhold and Hopkins, of which we shall hear more.

[21]Hoskins, *Horae,* p. 304 n 2 notes that this grace of 1553 also occurs in Knox's *Book of Common Order,* 1564. But it is in widely variant phraseology.

It will, therefore, be advisable now for us to examine some of the facts concerning this set of graces. There were only two graces, "A Prayer to be sayd before Meales" and "A Thankesgevinge after Meales," among the prayers attached to the English version of Calvin's *Catechism* in John Knox's Geneva Service Book, 1556.[22] With addition of "A thankesgeuing ater Meate" to the two earlier graces, and with slight trimming and adaptation, these prayers are to be found attached to *The first parte of the Psalmes collected into Englishe Meter, by Thomas Sternholde, and others,* as printed by John Day in 1564, the general title being "A forme of prayer to be vsed in priuate houses, euery morning and Euening."[23] Additional graces are said to have been added in 1561 to the prayers attached to Calvin's *Catechism.*[24] This catechism, together with the materials including the additional graces, forms part of Knox's *Book of Common Order,* with date of 1564.[25] These additional graces are to be found inserted in "A form of prayer" attached to Sternhold and Hopkins, as printed by John Day in 1566.[26] Since this edition of 1566 was "Newlye set foorth and allowed to bee soong," etc.,[27] it had in this section been brought into conformity with the form found in the *Book of Common Order* of 1564. This section "A form of prayer," etc. still remains in the quarto forms of Sternhold and Hopkins in the seventeenth century, but the graces had eventually been omitted and certain prayers at the end had been supplanted. Here is one strand of English official practice directly from Geneva. We shall see that Nowell has used the full form of the graces as they occur in Knox's *Book of Common Order,* 1564, and in Sternhold and Hopkins, 1566. In the *Book of Common Order,* they are attached to Calvin's *Catechism,* which is the fundamental source. I shall, therefore, so refer to them.

The next grace before a meal in 1553, "Another grace before meat," has then been moved up into the third place of 1582 as "Grace before meate." It is a very slight adaptation of *1 Corinthians* 10, 31, a reference which Nowell indicates, and

[22]Laing, David, *The Works of John Knox,* Vol. IV, pp. 209-210.

[23]Photographic copy of copy belonging to Huntington Library. All three of the graces of 1564 are to be found among many others in "Geneua. The forme of common praiers vsed in the churches of Geneua," printed by Whitchurch in 1550; but in a different translation and at times a different version.

[24]Laing, *Knox,* Vol. IV, p. 209 n 2. [25]Laing, *Knox,* Vol. VI, pt. 2, pp. 345 ff.

[26]Clay, W. K., *Liturgical Services,* Elizabeth (Parker Society), pp. 258 ff.

[27]Steele, *Music Printing,* p. 47.

gives the verse in a more accurate version than in the 1553. In the Latin and Greek version, Nowell calls for the *Pater Noster* to follow as in the first grace, but this direction does not follow in the English version.

As we proceed with the graces of 1553, we find that the first paragraph of the "Grace after supper" has been omitted, but the second paragraph has become the sixth grace of 1582, "Grace after meate." Then for a companion "Grace before meate" for his fifth place Nowell turns to the graces attached to Calvin's *Catechism* and adapts "Another thanksgiving before meat." The end of this runs,

assuring thy children by the mouth of thy Apostle, that to the clean all things are clean, as the creatures which be sanctified by thy word and by prayer; grant unto us so moderately to use these thy gifts present, that, the bodies being refreshed, the souls may be more able to proceed in all good works, to the praise of thy holy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord.[28]

Nowell rephrases thus

Grant, O most mercifull Father, that hunger and thirst being satisfied with moderate vse of these thy gifts sanctified with thy holy Woord, both our bodies & minds may so be refreshed, that wee may be made more apt and able to doo good woorks to the glory of thy holie name, *Amen.*

Nowell gives as authority for this grace "1 Timo. 4," evidently referring to verses 3-5. There is no addition indicated for it or for any of the following graces. So Calvin's *Catechism* because of an analogue has furnished a touch for the fourth grace and has brought with it part of a companion grace to form the fifth.

As we have said, the sixth grace of 1582 is adapted from the *Primer* of 1553 as the following scheme will demonstrate.

Grace after supper.

Most[1] mighty Lord and merciful Father,/ we[2] yield thee hearty thanks/ for[3] our bodily sustenance,/ requiring[4] also most entirely thy gracious goodness, so to feed us with the food of thy heavenly grace,/ that[5] we may worthily glorify thy holy name in this life, and after be partakers of the life everlasting, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.[29]

Grace after meate.

We[2] yeeld our hartie thanks vnto thee/ most[1] loouing Father,/ by[3] whose bountifull goodnes our bodies are continuallie refreshed:/ beseech-

[28]Clay, *Liturgical Services,* p. 261; Laing, *Knox,* Vol. VI, pt. 2, p. 349.
[29]Ketley, *Liturgies,* p. 373.

ing[4] thee to refresh our soules also with thy Heauenly grace, / and[5] with the liuely bread of thy most holy Word, and true faith in the same, & with certaine hope of life euerlasting: through our Sauiour Jesus Christ: to whom with thee, and the holie Ghost, be all honor and glorie, *Amen.*

Nowell's ending, however, beginning with the section I have marked as 4 paraphrases the ending of "Another thanksgiving after meat" from Calvin's *Catechism,*

grant unto us, that as thou hast nourished these our mortal bodies with corporal food, so thou wouldest replenish our souls with the perfect knowledge of the lively word of thy beloved Son Jesus.[30]

This grace was an analogue of Nowell's fourth grace, and, as we have seen, he shows a touch of it there. So both the fourth and sixth graces of Nowell show influence from this grace of Calvin's *Catechism.*

The original of Nowell's sixth grace in the *Primer* of 1553 is also an analogue of "A thanksgiving after meals" in Calvin's *Catechism,* and so from the latter Nowell borrows and adapts the ending "To whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. So be it."[31] Nowell gives as authority for this sixth grace "Math. 4. Iohn. 6." Thus parts of the graces attached to Calvin's *Catechism* and thence to Sternhold and Hopkins have been worked into the framework of the *Primer* of 1553 to help form the fourth, fifth, and sixth graces of 1582.

The *Primer* of 1553 continues as guide. Nowell rejected the "Thanks after meat" of 1553, as he was also to reject its doublet "Thanks after dinner or supper." Both prayed for the poor and afflicted, and enjoined charity, being thus but very doubtfully graces. But he retained the next grace, "Grace before supper" to become his "Grace before meate" in the ninth place. Now it happens that this grace was from Marshall's *Primer,* 1535, and it is to that source that Nowell turns for his version of the ninth, and for a precedent companion seventh. This had been the primer of Nowell's youth, and he evidently had not forgotten it.

Nowell's seventh grace, "Grace before meate," is to be found in Marshall's primer, 1535, and in Bishop Hilsey's primer,

[30]Clay, *Liturgical Services,* p. 261; Laing, *Knox,* Vol. VI, pt. 2, p. 350.
[31]Clay, *Liturgical Services,* p. 260; Laing, *Knox,* Vol. VI, pt. 2, p. 349.

1539. Nowell's version agrees in its readings with Marshall against Hilsey. Nowell's ninth grace, "Grace before meate" is to be found in Marshall's *Primer,* 1535, Bishop Hilsey's *Primer,* 1539, and in the *Primer* of 1553, being in each case before supper. The readings of Nowell in 1582 again agree with Marshall, as in the seventh grace. Since the eighth grace is in sentiment a doublet of the ninth, this group of three graces may be regarded as having been developed from Marshall's *Primer,* though the eighth is in part from Calvin's *Catechism.* The grace from Marshall in 1553 had sent Nowell back to his own boyhood acquaintance.

As has been indicated, the eighth grace connects with "Another [thanksgiving after meat]" from Calvin's *Catechism,* which begins

The God of all power, who hath called from death that great pastor of the sheep, our Lord Jesus, comfort and defend the flock, which he hath redeemed by the blood of the eternal testament.[32]

Nowell begins his eighth, which is also a "Grace after meate" with this rephrasing of the Calvin.

Thanks be vnto thee, O Lord God almightie, most deare Father of Heauen, for bringing again from death our Lord Jesus Christ, ye great shepheard of the sheepe, through the bloud of the euerlasting Testament.

The remainder of the petition is a rephrasing of *James* I, 22 in its context.

So the quoted grace from Marshall in the *Primer* of 1553 has served as the shaping influence upon Nowell's graces seven, eight, and nine. Eight was partly shaped from Calvin, and so is ten, to round off the sequence as a companion to nine. The tenth grace, "Grace after meate," is an analogue of "A thanksgiving after meals" from Calvin's *Catechism.* The latter runs,

We[1] render thanks unto thee (O Lord God) for the manifold benefits which we continually receive at thy bountiful hand, not only for that it hath pleased thee to feed us in this present life, giving unto us all things necessary for the same,/ but[2] especially because thou hast of thy free mercies fashioned us anew into an assured hope of a far better life, the which thou hast declared unto us by thy holy gospel./ Therefore[3] we humbly beseech thee (O heavenly Father) that thou wilt not suffer our affections to be so entangled, or rooted in these earthly and corruptible things;/ but[4] that we may always have our minds directed to

[32]Clay, *Liturgical Services,* p. 262; Laing, *Knox,* Vol. VI, pt. 2, p. 350.

thee on high, continually watching for the coming of our Lord and Saviour Christ, what time he shall appear for our full redemption.[33]

In Nowell, 1582,

Thanks[1] be vnto thee, O Lord God almightie, most deare Father of Heauen, which at this time hast fed vs with meate not only y[t] perisheth,/ but[2] with thy word, which abideth into euerlasting life./ Grant[3] most mercifull Father, we hauing the knowledge of thy word, may also practice the same in our conuersation,/ that[4] we both intirely louing, and vnfainedlie beleeuing thy holie Woord, may after this life liue with thee for euer, *Amen.*

It would seem clear that the tenth grace shrinks that of Calvin's *Catechism* somewhat more nearly to schoolboy proportions and understanding.

As we have already mentioned, Nowell rejected the final prose grace of the *Primer* of 1553, "Thanks after dinner or supper" as he had rejected its doublet predecessor, of which it is a rather close rephrasing. The prose graces of 1553 were followed by six in meter, which for the most part repeat the prose sentiments, and are in some cases mere versifications of the prose graces. Nowell rejects all these, but under their influence takes for his eleventh place, "Grace before meate," the only metrical "Grace before meate" from the three metrical graces of the little school *Primer and Catechism* abbreviated from the *Primer* of 1553.[34] Then to round out his dozen Nowell adds as a "Grace after meate" *Colossians* 3, 17, followed by *Revelation, 7,* 12.

Following the graces in 1582 is the admonition.

This little Catechisme learnd
by hart, (for so it ought:)
The Primer next commanded is,
for Children to be taught.

This is evidently a survival from the system as first established under Henry VIII and passed on down the centuries.

It is thus clear that Nowell was revising the graces of 1553, with his eyes closely fixed on the graces which had originally been attached to Calvin's *Catechism* by 1564, to supplement them. These graces had received some kind of official standing in England by being attached to Sternhold and Hopkins. One

[33]Clay, *Liturgical Services,* p. 260; Laing, *Knox,* Vol. VI, pt. 2, pp. 348-349.
[34]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 248, p. 300; *Ibid.,* No. 254, p. 302.

of the graces of 1553 from Marshall's *Primer,* 1535, attracted a companion from that source, doubtless because Marshall's had been the *Primer* of Nowell's youth. One metrical grace from the school *Primer and Catechism* abridged from the *Primer* of 1553 was substituted for any of the six in the parent volume. Most have been trimmed more nearly to Biblical authority and to neater English. The English model has been the graces of the *Primer* of 1553, which was the authorized form, but with an eye upon those in its school abridgement. That is, Day's *ABC with the Catechism* of the 'sixties doubtless had these graces attached as was customary, and Nowell is revising them, but with attention also to the next text above, the school *Primer and Catechism,* which had adapted some set also adapted in the *Primer* of 1553. We may feel reasonably certain, therefore, that Shakspere's first *ABC with the Catechism* at the end of the 'sixties would have had the Elizabethan form of the graces of 1553 attached.

Some further incidental light is thrown on the graces by Bishop Pilkington's direction for his students that,

> Every time afore they begin to eat breakfast, dinner, or supper, they shall begin with prayer openly that all in the house may pray with them, as this:—The eyes of all things look up and trust in thee, O Lord, &c. and so after meat likewise they shall give God thanks for the repast which they have received, as thus, viz.—Most mighty Lord and merciful Father, we give thee hearty thanks for our bodily sustenance, &c. Which graces and divers others more, because they be printed in the Catechism and other places, I will not rehearse here, but will that the Schoolmaster and Usher see diligently that every one of the Scholars can say perfectly by heart divers sorts of them, and use them reverently, or else be duly corrected therefore.[35]

The two graces to which Bishop Pilkington refers are to be found in this approximate form as early as *The Primer in english for children after the use of Sarum,* very doubtfully dated as *c.* 1537,[36] which were taken over into King Henry's *Primer* in 1545, and continued in several successors thereafter. The first was a "Grace before dinner," and begins as Pilkington quotes. In the *Primer* of 1553 a "do" gets inserted. Bishop Pilkington is evidently quoting from memory the form of his youth. The second is found c. 1537 under the heading "Grace

[35]Whitaker, *Rivington School,* p. 167. [36]Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 131, p. 173.

after supper" and retains its place into the *Primer* of 1553. Both these graces would be found in all forms of the primer of the 'sixties except the *Primer and Catechism* abbreviated from the *Primer* of 1553, since the former had a new set of graces. But the second of these graces had been much revised by Nowell as the sixth grace for his form of the *Little Catechism* about 1571. Pilkington, therefore, is thinking of the catechism as it was before Nowell revised it, and assumes that it will have a set of the conventional graces. In the 'sixties, this set would be that of 1553 or that of 1551 revised toward 1553, which with slight variants in phraseology would be the first six prose graces of 1553. Those six Shakspere is almost certain to have had from his *ABC with the Catechism,* and we shall find some reflection of them in his work. But it is the added six in meter of 1553 that he reflects most fully. Were they or were they not also attached? Our evidence indicates that they were. But if they were not, then we shall be obliged to send Shakspere directly to the *Primer* for them.

CHAPTER VII

SHAKSPERE'S ABCEDARIUS

WE KNOW IN GENERAL what was expected of petty school, and what texts and methods were to be employed. But we do not have a clear statement of exactly how the boys at Stratford received their necessary previous preparation for grammar school till 1604, when the Bailiff and Burgesses were petitioning the Chancellor of Worcester for renewal of the license to Thomas Parker, who

> hath for a reasonable time of continuance employed himself to the teaching of little children (chiefly such as his wife one time of the day doth practice in needlework), whereby our young youth is well furthered in reading and the Free School greatly eased of that tedious trouble.[1]

It appears that Parker had been exercising that function from before July 7, 1600, at least.[2] If Fripp is correct in saying that the former license to Parker was granted by Thomas Bilson, then it was granted between June 13, 1596, when Bilson was created Bishop of Worcester, and May 13, 1597, when he was translated to Winchester. So at the end of the sixteenth century Parker was accustomed "to teach the alphabet and reading of English" to the "young youth" of Stratford, easing the Free School of that "tedious trouble." When the boys were ready for the Free School, Abraham Sturley taught them grammar in the lower division, and Alexander Aspinall gave them their rhetorical and poetical polishing in the upper school. In the 'sixties and again at the end of the century Stratford is definitely known to have had the usual Elizabethan grammar school arrangement, with a master and an usher. Presumably that arrangement had also been in existence during the 'seventies, when William Shakspere was a "tedious trouble" to the school system, though certain records have been misunderstood to the contrary. As a petty, it is just possible that he had been taught by the upper "grammarians" of the grammar school in turn, as was sometimes done in the sixteenth century, even

[1] Savage and Fripp, *Minutes and Accounts*, Vol. III, p. xi n 1.
[2] Fripp, E. I., *Shakespeare Studies*, pp. 74-5.

though that was specifically forbidden at Stratford; and at the end of the century, at least, was not practiced there. For at entrance to Stratford grammar school the boys were to have been "at the least wyez entred or reddy to enter into ther accydence & princypalles of gramer."[3] This arrangement required someone else than the grammar school teachers to take the "tedious trouble" "to teach the alphabet and reading of English" to the "young youth" of Stratford, as Parker and his wife are known to have been doing at the end of the century. This should have been true from the foundation of the grammar school.

The various modes of teaching petties at this period are alluded to in surviving statutes and other documents. They are well summed up by F. Clement in the preface to *The Petie Schole,* that preface being dated July 21, 1576, though the only known edition of the work is of 1587.

> Children (as we see) almost euerie where are first taught either in priuate by men or women altogeather rude, and vtterly ignoraunt of the due composing and iust spelling of wordes: or else in common schooles most commonlie by boyes, verie seeldome or neuer by anie of sufficient skill, howsoeuer yet right spelling is but the least parte, or rather no part counted of learning. So that of all other little children chaunce into the worst handes: which thing also the pitiefull euente thereof sheweth ouer well. For how fewe be there vnder the age of seauen or eight yeares, that are towardly abled, and praysablie furnished for reading? And as manie there be aboue those yeares, that can neither readilie spell nor rightly write euen the common wordes of our Englishe.[4]

Here are the two general methods of teaching children their petty work.

But by the aid of Clement's book—too late to aid William—all this was to be remedied.

To the lit[l]e Children.

Come, litle childe, let toyes alone,
  and trifles in the streete:
Come, get thee to the parish Clarke.
  H'is made a Teacher meete.
Frequent ye now the Taylers shop,
  and eeke the Weauers lombe:
Ther's neither these, but can with skill
  Them teach that thither come.

[3]Savage and Fripp, *Minutes and Accounts,* Vol. I, p. 34.
[4]Clement, *Petie Schole* (1587), p. 4.

The Semstresse she (a Mistresse now)
hath lore as much to reade,
As erst she had in many yeares
compast by silke and threede.
I can not all by name rehearse,
For many moe you see:
Come make your choyce, let toies alone,
and trifles: Learne A, B.[5]

Edmund Coote directs his *English Schoolmaster* in 1596

to such men and women of Trade, as Taylors, Weavers, Shop keepers, Seamsters, and such others, as have undertaken the charge of teaching others.[6]

It looks as if Shakspere's children probably learned A, B in the 'nineties from the seamstress and her husband Parker. It is not likely that Shakspere himself had fared any better—perhaps the best we can hope for is that he laid his toys aside for "the parish Clarke." If we are absolutely obliged to suspect someone, perhaps Sir William Gilbert, *alias* Higges, who upon occasion helped in the grammar school, would be as suspicious a character as any. But at most we can have only suspicion.

While we have no indication as to who taught Shakspere AB at Stratford, yet he has given us a full-length portrait in Holofernes of such a pedagogue, though not under Stratford conditions. Holofernes is the supreme luminary of his intellectual world, while Shakspere's abcedarius would have been a very minor satellite in the Stratford system. Holofernes exhibits the breed in its fullest development. Because of the current discussions of petty school in the 'eighties, Shakspere's contemporaries were most excellently prepared to understand the difficulties of Shakspere's abcedarius Holofernes as presented in *Love's Labor's Lost* in 1588, and enlarged some years later. Shakspere and Holofernes knew what was in the air, though I find no direct reflection in them of Bullokar, Mulcaster, and Kempe.

Holofernes teaches the conventional hornbook, with its syllables, vowels, etc. He is also as meticulously insistent upon what Kempe calls *Prosodia* and *Orthographia* as that pedant and his colleagues could have desired, though whether they would have agreed with his system is yet another matter. The

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 9. [6] Coote, *School-Master* (1673), p. [A3r].

"too picked, too spruce, too affected, too odd, as it were, too peregrinate, as I may call it" Don Adriano de Armado arouses the full pedagogical ire of Holofernes.

He draweth out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument. I abhor such fanatical phantasimes, such insociable and point-devise companions; such rackers of orthography, as to speak dout, fine, when he should say doubt; det, when he should pronounce debt,—d,e,b,t, not d,e,t: he clepeth a calf, cauf; half, hauf; neighbour vocatur nebour; neigh abbreviated ne. This is abhominable,—which he would call abbominable: it insinuateth me of insanie: anne intelligis, domine? to make frantic, lunatic.[7]

Armado outrages Holofernes' system of orthography, which Kempe would have subdivided into *Prosodia* and *Orthographia*. For Armado offends against right speaking or prosody because of his flaunting of true orthography. Perhaps we can realize what momentous issues were at stake by examining the contemporary theorists, on the disputed pronunciations. A bit of philological history needs to be injected here so as to put the remarks of Holofernes on their proper background. Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith had tried to reform English pronunciation of Greek. In doing so, they attempted to get at the true pronunciation of all vowel, consonant, and diphthong sounds, this usually demanding more symbols than had been provided by the alphabet. The system thus evolved then becomes the "correct" one, to which they assume that English practice must conform. Their system for the Greek is, of course, not original with them, but belonged to the leading linguistic "reformers" of the day. Further, the English to which they applied the system was already an English "corrected" by the Latin and Greek.

Smith constantly assumes this standard, but Hart states it;

and there is no doubt, but that the English speach, which the learned sort in the ruled Latin, togither with those which are acquainted with the vulgars Italian, French, and Spanish doe vse, is that speach which euery reasonable English man, will the nearest he can, frame his tongue therevnto.[8]

The "ruled" Latin and its Romance descendants furnished the standard for educated speech. Elsewhere, Hart broadens his

[7] *Love's Labor's Lost*, V, 1, 18-29.
[8] Hart, John, *An Orthographie* (1569), p. F2r.

base of touchstone languages somewhat to include "high Dutch" and "Welshe."

And last of all, English Latinistes maye hereby vnderstand, the Italian and high Dutch and Welshe pronounciation of their letters, which by presumption is verie neare as the auncient Greekes and Latines did, being according to thorder and reason of their predecessors first inuention of them, whereby our errors are the better perceyued, and in the ende of the booke a certaine example of how the Italian, high Duch, French, and Spanyard doe vse to pronounce Latine and their owne languages.[9]

Educated Englishmen assumed that they must make their pronunciation conform to the "ruled" Latin if it was to be correct. So Hart proposes,

Herein shall be shewed you, the auncient vse, power and sound of euery letter, by examples in diuerse languages, and which letters, and how, they are by vs and certaine other nations abused, so as such as doe vnderstand the sayde languages shall nothing doubt therof.[10]

The history of the Hebrews and Romans is then quoted to show how "unruled" speech has come to prevail in some quarters. The philological fictions of this school are at least as interesting as those of the modern German school. It is from this point of view that Hart speaks

Of the number of our vowels, and of their auncient sounds in which they are alwayes vsed in the newe maner hereafter, by which their perfite vse, our present abused soūd of some of them, are found to be Dipthongs. Cap. iiij.[11]

Hart proposes to "correct" to Latin standards an English pronunciation which was already being "corrected" in that direction. He has given numerous hints, mostly centering in contemporary notes upon Quintilian, as to where he found his Latin standards. Cheke and Smith were going to similar standards. Then such men as Bullokar and Mulcaster tag along after, representing further refinements which are being made in accordance with the same prepossessions. It will be impossible to understand either Smith or Hart exactly without exploration of this classical background; it may even then still be impossible to understand them exactly. It is thus at least amusing to find Jespersen laboring long with these ancient brethren on the matter of the *ai, ei* diphthongs because their statements on how they did pronounce them do not conform to

[9]Hart, *Orthographie* (1569), p. B_2r & v.
[10]Hart, *Orthographie* (1569), p. B_3v. [11]*Ibid., The Table of the Contentes.*

the best modern Germanic theory of how they should have pronounced them.[12] When one set of phonetical theorists meets another, then Greek meets Greek; and the innocent bystander must do as he may.

In the case of Holofernes, it seems possible to avoid the worst details of theoretical complications, since he was as ignorant of modern philological ideas as were his contemporary theorists. He can thus be put on his contemporary background, and modern theorists may be left to settle their theories as they like them. It will be remembered that Holofernes objects vigorously to many points in the practice of his fellow expert Armado,

> I abhor . . . such rackers of orthography, as to speak dout, fine, when he should say doubt; det, when he should pronounce debt,—d,e,b,t, not d,e,t: he clepeth a calf, cauf; half, hauf; neighbour vocatur nebour; neigh abbreviated ne. This is abhominable,—which he would call abbominable: it insinuateth me of insanie: anne intelligis, domine? to make frantic, lunatic.[13]

Evidently, Armado was committing the most soul-racking crimes against English orthography.

Armado would have had the theorists on his side in the pronunciation of doubt and debt. Hart explains that the English and Scotch are really out of line in their pronunciation of the word doubt.

> Some thinke the Scottish speach more auncient Englishe than as we now speake here in England, yet there is no liuing English man, so much affected to write his English as they doe Scottish, which they write as they speake, and that in manye wordes, more neare the Latine, from whence both we and they doe deriue them, as fruct for fruit . . . and diuerse others, wherein we pronounce not those letters which they do, & therfore write them not as reason is. Yet in others we do exceede with them, as the b in doubt,

etc.[14] Holofernes insists that the orthography of doubt be preserved in pronunciation. Hart says that this is in fact English and Scotch pronunciation, but he implies that it should be "corrected" as Armado is doing. Sir Thomas Smith evidently agreed with Hart in this ruling, for in his work of the year

[12] Jespersen, O., "John Hart's Pronunciation of English (1569 and 1570)," *Anglistische Forschungen*, Heft 22, pp. 33 ff.

[13] *Love's Labor's Lost*, V, 1, 19-29.

[14] Hart, *Orthographie* (1569), pp. E_3v-E_4r.

before he had given "det" as the proper English pronunciation of the second word in the list of Holofernes.[15] Bullokar in 1580 also agrees by saying that the b in doubt is a superfluous letter,[16] and by spelling "det." So Mulcaster in 1582 spells dout and det.[17] Clement in 1587 includes debt and doubt among "wordes that be otherwise spelled then pronounced."[18] Coote in 1598 says that b is not pronounced in these two words.[19] Thus all the theorists insisted with Armado that the b was not to be pronounced; but with Holofernes we still keep it in our spelling. Since Smith and Hart made their pronouncements in 1568 and 1569 just as Shakspere was entering petty school to be introduced to orthography, some echoes of the conflicting opinions and practice on the point are not unlikely to have reached him there.

In the next two words, Holofernes is still insisting upon following orthography in his pronunciation, though Armado has what we are told is correct English pronunciation.

For tho we write *calm, balm, talk, walk, chalk, calf, calues, salues:* yet we pronounce them so as if theie had no, l, but onelie the duble, w or single, *cawm, bawm, taulk, waulk, chauk, caulf, cawues, sawues.*[20]

Though this be the actual English pronunciation, if it be, Holofernes insists that it racks orthography. Since Bullokar still spells "half" in his phonetic system, I suppose he agrees with Holofernes against Armado.[21] Coote groups the two words without comment as to pronunciation, "Ca cal calf half ralf."[22] It will be noticed that Holofernes selects the conventional companions in these illustrations; doubt, debt, calf, half. He knew the fighting words and the alleged correct rules for them.

But probably neighbour was the climactic offender of them all. For neighbour was a particularly hard nut for the philologists to crack. They met irregularity in the diphthong *ei* and their Waterloo on *gh*. So far as I have observed, the "correctors" simply ignored the *gh* as barbarous, and did their endeavors to make *ei* conform to their Latin system. Perhaps

[15]Smith, Thomas, *De recta & emendata Lingvae Anglicae Scriptione, Dialogus* (1568), p. 24r. [16]Plessow, "Fabeldichtung," *Palaestra,* Vol. LII, pp. 275, 26.
[17]Mulcaster, *Elementarie* (1925), pp. 208, 206.
[18]Clement, *Petie Schole* (1587), p. B₃v.
[19]Coote, *School-Master* (1673), p. 20.
[20]Mulcaster, *Elementarie* (1925), pp. 142-3.
[21]Plessow, "Fabeldichtung," *Palaestra,* Vol. LII, p. 313, etc.
[22]Coote, *School-Master* (1673), p. 8.

Sir Thomas Smith can explain as well as any. He begins on the proper sound of *ai*.

> Sed diphthongi quo modo sonari debent, quivis etiam ex triuio puer qui literas didicerit explicabit. Heus tu dic sodes, *a & i* quid faciunt? dicet
> αι. certè *ai*. Si *p* praeponas, facit *pai*, solue. sin *m*, πᾶι.
> μᾶι. *mai*, Maïus mensis: sin *w*, *wai*, via: neque nunc οὐαὶ.
> *pa i* dicit, nec *ma i*, sed *pai & mai*, vt constituere diphthongos non dissoluere videatur.[23]

Smith thus establishes the English pronunciation of *ai* as a true diphthong, using pay, may, way as his illustrations.

Then he tackles the more difficult problem of *ei*.

> Idem dicendum puto & de *ei*, quod nos exprimimus cùm hinnire, hoc est *ney* dicimus: & foeminae quaedam delicatiores cuncta ferè quae per *ay* dicuntur per *ei* exprimunt: vt *wey, dey, pei,* vt eadem Eurosaxones populares mei rusticiores, nimis pingui & adipato sono, *way, day, pay:* vt etiam tinnitū illud *i* reddat in fine. Scoti & Borei quidem Angli per *a*, vix vt illud *i* audiatur, *pa, da, wa,* aut potius per *ae* proferunt. Illud obseruandum ne nimis videamur obesè loqui propter exilissimae literae prope latissimas ex breuibus nimium tinnientis sonum, cùm *ai* & *oi* dictionem finiant, breuiter & correptè proferendas esse: quod Graeci Grammatici notarunt, ne alioqui crassum illum & adipatum sonum rusticorum nostratium imitemur, qui cùm *a gay, boy,* ore pleno literis diductis in immensum dicūt, nimis profectò invrbanè loqui ab elegantioribus iudicemur.[24]

Mulcaster repeats Smith's ungallant remark about the finicky-female thus,

> Ai, is the mans diphthong, & soundeth full: ei, the womans, and soundeth finish in the same both sense, and vse, *a woman is deintie, and feinteth soon, the man fainteth not bycause he is nothing daintie.*[25]

He had previously given *"ai, decaie"* and *"ei, sleight"* as the proper pronunciation.[26] But while the two diphthongs were thus confused in pronunciation, Smith says also that the *i* of each was also sometimes incorrectly emphasized. Apparently Armado has gone to the opposite extreme and does not sound the *i* at all to make up a diphthong, unless the compositor has played us a trick. Except perhaps for the quality of his vowel, Armado appears to pronounce the first syllable of neighbor as we do now. Holofernes wants that diphthong *ei* sounded, either urbanely without emphasis, or with the *i* emphasized rustically,

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[23]Smith, Thomas, *De recta & emendata Lingvae Graecae Pronvntiatione* (1568), p. 37r.
[24]*Ibid.*, p. 37r; cf. Smith, *De recta Anglicae Scriptione* (1568), pp. 14r ff.
[25]Mulcaster, *Elementarie* (1925), p. 132. [26]*Ibid.*, p. 131.

but at least so that he can hear the *i*, and he would also have insisted upon hearing that *gh*. Under correction, he would no doubt have corrected Sir Thomas Smith himself on that point. Holofernes wants all the letters sounded in neighbour, though exactly how he wanted the word pronounced is still more than I know certainly. Hart, who represents both *ai* and *ei* by *e*, probably comes near to it with his phonetic "ne·hbur," though Holofernes may have wanted more *i* in his pronunciation. Similarly Bullokar spells the first syllable as "neih."[27] Mulcaster, for once, agreed with Holofernes, at least on the spelling of neighbour, but gives no hint as to pronunciation. Coote says *gh* "coming together, except in *Ghost,* are of most men but little sounded."[28] This time Holofernes apparently had his comtemporary theorists prevailingly on his side, though we now have come to agree with Armado.[29]

Thus Holofernes objects to rackers of orthography; a word should be pronounced as it is spelled. He is a conservative, country schoolmaster, while Armado tends to have all the "fire-new words" and the equally fire-new pronunciations of them. As for *abhominable,* it was "An old mode of spelling *abominable,* on the supposition that it was derived *ab homine,* from or repugnant to man, ridiculed as pedantic by Shakspere in the character of the pedant Holofernes."[30] "No other spelling [than *abhominable*] occurs in the first folio of Shaks., which has the word 18 times; and in *L. L. L.* V. 1. 27, Holophernes abhors the 'rackers of ortagriphie,' who were beginning to write *abominable.*"[31] Mulcaster is one of these innovators and explains it as an enfranchised word, deriving it "Of omen without h."[32] Coote lists it among words where the *h* is not pronounced.[33] Here not merely orthography but even a sacred Latin derivation was at stake. No wonder it all insinuated Holofernes of insanie! There are limits to the endurance of a "well-informed and conscientious" schoolmaster.

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[27]Plessow, "Fabeldichtung," *Palaestra,* Vol. LII, p. 64.

[28]Coote, *School-Master* (1673), p. 21.

[29]I do not know why Viëtor says, "Also in *neigh* and *neighbour* the *gh* seems to have been mute in the pronunciation of Shakespeare" (Viëtor, W., *A Shakespeare Phonology,* p. 101). The reader may also check Viëtor's conclusions on the other words against the facts here collected.

[30]*Century Dictionary.*

[31]*N. E. D.* But Holofernes assumes the spelling and condemns the pronunciation, which would show in the new spelling.

[32]Mulcaster, *Elementarie* (1925), p. 190.

[33]Coote, *School-Master* (1673), p. 21.

It is clear that Shakspere himself was aware of the momentous issues involved in these earth-shaking debates of his day—and was most highly amused by them. To him they hardly amounted to even a tempest in a teapot. Whether he had suffered these experts gladly from petty-school days, at least he had suffered enough to know some of their favorite bones of contention. It will be noticed that Holofernes is not speaking in terms of any one of these systems. For instance, it has been suggested that he is a caricature of Mulcaster. If so, Holofernes; that is, Shakspere, was completely ignorant of Mulcaster's actual position as to the pronunciation of these words. Mulcaster agrees much more nearly with Armado, though he does not agree completely with either. Holofernes was merely taking a specifically announced position on some of the chief issues of the day; as a teacher of spelling in petty-school, he insisted that words should be pronounced as they were spelled; when orthography was racked, he was wrecked.

The criticisms of Holofernes assume that there was a correct orthography, as Bullokar, Mulcaster, and Kempe desired, and that every letter of current spellings should be pronounced, as all three object was not the case and desire a reformed orthography accordingly. Holofernes is meticulous for orthography, but he is not sufficiently informed to be aware of the crucial divergences between *prosodia* and *orthographia,* which Bullokar, Mulcaster, and Kempe wished to have solved. Since the fun lies in the pretentious and meticulous ignorance of Holofernes, it follows that Shakspere himself was aware of the shortcomings of Holofernes, and expected his audience also to appreciate and enjoy them. Holofernes took what he considered the correct spelling of a word and insisted on sounding all the symbols in pronouncing it; his tribe is not yet dead. Shakspere, along with Bullokar, Mulcaster, Kempe, and enlightened people generally knew that this was impossible, though the three pedants wished for a system of orthography which would make it possible; if Shakspere cared, he died and gave no sign.

But Holofernes continues to air his pedagogic peeves. Armado, Moth, and Costard enter, and Armado salutes with a "Chirrah!," which is called in question, evidently aside, by

Holofernes, "Quare chirrah, not sirrah?"[34] Armado is still distressing Holofernes with his orthography, but it is Armado's page Moth who proceeds to pose Holofernes and to betray him figuratively to his own birch of correction.

Arm. [*To Hol.*] Monsieur, are you not lettered?

Moth. Yes, yes; he teaches boys the hornbook. What is a,b, spelt backward, with the horn on his head?

Hol. Ba, pueritia, with a horn added.

Moth. Ba, most silly sheep with a horn. You hear his learning.[35]

Holofernes teaches the hornbook, and Moth poses him on the first syllable of that gateway to learning, together with the horn that protected it. Like Idleness in her lecture of Ignorance quoted earlier, Moth is using a mnemonic device which must have been frequently employed to impress this syllable upon beginners. There may, as some have assumed, be also a reference to the university degree of Holofernes, but there is no overt allusion to it and none is needed. At least, the hornbook certainly initiates the idea and needs no aid. Moth's query leads to the conclusion, "Ba, most silly sheep with a horn."

To understand the further sheepish turn of the conversation, we had best permit Vives to explain the connection between vowels and sheep. It looks to us as if Moth had thrust his pun in by head and shoulders, but it would not have appeared so to a learned grammarian of the time. Vives was the occasion of this disputation. One of the first of his dialogues makes the distinction between vowels and consonants, with which the authorized Latin grammar also begins. Watson's translation of the passage in Vives will supply the missing connection. The Preceptor is lecturing Lusius on his vowels; that is, Holofernes is teaching a boy his horn-book.

Praec. Take the ABC tablet in your left hand, and this pointer in the right hand, so that you can point out the letters one by one. Stand upright; put your cap under your arm-pit. Listen most attentively how I shall name these letters. Look diligently how I move my mouth. See that you return what I say immediately in the same manner, when I ask for it again. Attention (*sis mecum*)! Now you have heard it. Follow me now as I say it before you, letter by letter. Do you clearly understand?

Lus. It seems to me I do, fairly well.

Praec. Every one of these signs is called a letter. Of these, five are vowels, A, E, I, O, U. They are in the Spanish *o*[*u*]*eia,* which signifies

[34] *Love's Labor's Lost,* V, 1, 35-6. I hope the reader will excuse me from unriddling this one. [35] *Love's Labor's Lost,* V, 1, 47-54.

sheep. Remember that word! These with any letter you like, or more than one, make up syllables. Without a vowel there is no syllable and sometimes the vowel itself is a syllable. Therefore all the other letters are called consonants, because they don't constitute sounds by themselves unless a vowel is joined to them. They have some imperfect, maimed (*mancum*) sound, *e.g. b, c, d, g,* which without *e* cannot be sounded. Out of syllables we get words, and from words connected speech, which all beasts lack. And you would not be different from the beasts, if you could not converse properly.[36]

Thus sheep and vowels were inextricably bound together for Elizabethan grammarians. Further, the first syllable of the boy's hornbook combines the first consonant and the first vowel *ab,* which Moth takes as his point of departure, together with the horn of hornbook. On this background, it was inevitable that this first syllable of the hornbook should get a sheepish interpretation. The tendency was reinforced by the argument as to whether the second letter of the Greek alphabet should be pronounced V as had come to be traditional or B as the reformers contended. Ascham will present the point as well as any. He takes as authority Eustathius on Homer.

βῆ, inquit, est ipsissima vox ovilis: jam utrum ulla ovis effert *vi* ut vos, an *be* ut nos, judicetis. Anglae scio omnes oves et Germanae et Italae pro nobis faciunt; sed fortasse Graecae oves olim non balabant, sed vilabant, etc.[37] A modern is likely to be moved to levity, and might like to inquire of Ascham with supreme seriousness whether sheep may have suffered certain sound shifts in their pronunciation since the time of Homer, and Eustathius. But Ascham and his contemporary colleagues had not become "scientific," and so they herded their sheep in triumph upon this point. Consequently, in both Latin and Greek this first syllable *ab* and its reverse *ba* get connected with sheep, as no doubt they would have done in English also unaided.

Moth may turn the *ba* upon the university degree of Holofernes, and certainly adds a horn by way of insult to injury. It will be noticed that in the Latin, with which alone we are here to deal, the connection between the vowels and sheep came, not through the Latin *ovis,* but through the Spanish *oueia;* that is, the colloquies of the Spaniard Vives are the source of this con-

[36]Watson, F., *Tudor School-Boy Life,* pp. 18-19. This passage in Vives has also been noted independently by Miss Frances A Yates in *A Study of Love's Labour's Lost,* pp. 58 ff.

[37]Giles, John A., *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham,* Vol. I, p. 348.

nection. This connection is made more fully in the continued disputation. The dense Holofernes asks for identification of this sheep, "Quis, quis, thou consonant?" Incidentally, Moth is a consonant because, as Vives and others regularly explained, a consonant could not stand alone, possibly playing upon Moth's diminutive stature, more likely in reference to his dependence upon Armado. Moth answers, "The third of the five vowels, if you repeat them; or the fifth, if I;" and Holofernes blindly begins, "I will repeat them,—a, e, i—," where Moth breaks in at the third vowel "I" with, "The sheep: the other two concludes it,—o, u." Holofernes has identified himself as the sheep with the third vowel "I," and Moth has identified him with the fifth, "U." It is all upon the proper hornbook background, with even the "horn" in hornbook entering into the punned disputation, to the discomfiture of the schoolmaster Holofernes. And Vives by making a Spanish sheep out of the vowels is at the bottom of all this. It is the schoolboy-page of the Spaniard Armado who displays this great erudition, but there is nothing to show that Shakspere intends this fact to indicate that the information is from Spanish sources.[38] Shakspere may well have got the vowels connected with sheep directly from Vives, though, of course, such trifles as this float everywhere. The schoolboy Moth teaches Master Holofernes a thing or two from his own hornbook. Holofernes is made most painfully aware that he is an abcedarius, and only an abcedarius. Neither he nor we can possibly have any illusions about his status.

As an abcedarius, Holofernes was evidently as careful of "*Prosodia,* in pronouncing of letters, syllables, and words with the mouth" as even Kempe could have wished. Kempe insisted, it will be remembered, that

> the scholler in learning euery word shall pronounce him with his true accent: as he may not say *maiéstie* but *máiestie.* Also after that he hath spelled his lesson, he shall reade the same, obseruing therein the poynts and distinctions of the sentence.

So to Holofernes a false accent is as a red rag to a bull, even though Sir Nathaniel himself be the perpetrator, "You find not the apostraphas, and so miss the accent."[39] Sir Nathaniel had

[38] Most sincerely do I hope that this connection will not cause anyone to identify Vives as Holofernes; we have suffered enough already.

[39] *Love's Labor's Lost,* IV, 2, 123-4.

not observed his points, in this case the apostrophes, and so missed the accent. This is the prosody of verse, and so a double offense, but Holofernes would have been as meticulous about the prosody of prose. Shakspere himself, of course, is quite aware of these technicalities of presentation. The reader will remember, among other instances, how Quince did "not stand upon points,"[40] and with what ludicrous results in delivery. Some Holofernes had done his full duty in this matter by Shakspere.

With this encounter concluded to the delectation of Costard, next Armado takes Holofernes aside that there may be no further interruptions.

Arm. Arts-man, preambulate, we will be singuled from the barbarous. Do you not educate youth at the charge-house on the top of the mountain?

Hol. Or mons, the hill.

Arm. At your sweet pleasure, for the mountain.

Hol. I do, sans question.[41]

Armado has again stepped on pedagogical toes, but generously waives aside the point. What the reader needs to realize fully and at once is that these two meticulous stylists are haggling over the exactly proper translation of a Latin phrase into English. For Cooper defines "*Mons* . . . A mountaine or hill . . . *Acumen montis. Ouid.* The sharpe toppe of." Holofernes taught *acumine montis,* as Armado translates it in his usual grandiose style, "on the top of the mountain." But Holofernes, as always, is wholly for accuracy, and so insists upon hill, whereupon Armado waives his mountain, and Holofernes is mollified. Since the two pedants are really conversing in translated Latin, Ovid's phrase as explained by Cooper is pretty clearly at the root of the whole matter, causing the charge-house of Holofernes to be set upon a hill. This mountain-hill likely comes from Ovid, so beloved of Holofernes and Shakspere, as interpreted by Cooper, not from life at all.

Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* had said, "Dictys ab ancipiti delapsus acumine montis,"[42] which Golding translates "Dyctis from a slipprye knappe downe slyding."[43] For once, at least, Golding may safely be ignored. Cooper makes a phrase from

[40] *Midsummer Night's Dream,* V, 1, 118.
[41] *Love's Labor's Lost,* V, 1, 85-91.
[42] Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* Bk. XII, 337.
[43] Rouse, W. H. D., *Shakespeare's Ovid,* p. 245.

Ovid, "Acumen montis," and this consequently becomes the official phrase for learned grammarians, such as Holofernes and Armado had once been. As a matter of fact, Ovid himself regularly uses "cacumen montis," and "vertex montis." Virgil's favorite phrase for mountain, "vertice montis," is to be found in Cooper, hidden away under "*Vertex montis. Virg.* The toppe of an hill." Since the translation of *mons* is the bone of contention, Armado is most likely using Ovid's phrase as given by Cooper under that word. For Cooper was the supreme authority on the proper rendering of Latin words into English, and the fountain source for phrases. But whether the Latin phrase is that of Ovid or that of Virgil, an official Latin phrase it is, over whose translation Armado and Holofernes are sparring.

Holofernes is quite insistent upon the secular technicalities of his calling. It would hardly have been permissible to present his ideas upon the catechism so freely upon the stage as those upon the hornbook. But his correctness in the religious side of his duties is also indicated. His bosom companion is Sir Nathaniel, the Curate. At the present encounter with Armado, the cronies are just returning from a feast, where Sir Nathaniel is complimenting Holofernes on having displayed such sharp and sententious reasons, "learned without opinion, and strange without heresy." Holofernes was certainly attending to the catechism and the rest of his religious teaching to the full satisfaction of Sir Nathaniel, the Curate. And Sir Nathaniel had told him so even before Holofernes had invited Sir Nathaniel to the feast at the home of one of the pupils, where Sir Nathaniel paid his way by gratifying the table with a grace before repast. Otherwise, Holofernes would doubtless have called on his pupil to exhibit one of the graces he had been taught from the ABC with catechism. For properly graced or gratified any repast must be which Holofernes attends.

Holofernes is overtly and pointedly an abcedarius; only by extension and erroneous inference can he be made anything else. But he is *the* schoolmaster of Sir Nathaniel's parish, as Sir Nathaniel is *the* church official. There is no grammar school with master and usher, nor any higher church official. Sir Nathaniel, who is "our parson," the "parish curate,"

"hedgepriest," and Holofernes, who is "the schoolmaster" and "pedant," reign supreme and with mutual satisfaction.

Nath. Sir, I praise the Lord for you: and so may my parishioners; for their sons are well tutored by you, and their daughters profit very greatly under you: you are a good member of the commonwealth.[44]

While *Love's Labor's Lost* was in its heyday, Edmund Coote in 1596 exhorted,

Now touching the framing and sweet tuning of the voice, I have given this help: I have added for Prose all sorts of stile, both dialogue and others; and for Verse, Psalms, and other Verses of all the several sorts usual: which being well taught, will frame thee to the natural reading of any English. But here I must make earnest request to all careful Ministers, that as they tender the good education of the youth in their Parishes, they would sometimes repair unto the Schools of such teachers as are not Grammarians to hear their children pronounce: and so help such with their discretion, that desire to use this book in their Schools; for it is lamentable to see into what ignorant handling silly little children chance, which should at first be most skilfully grounded; which is the only cause of such woful ignorance in so many men and women that cannot now write (without great error) one sentence of true English; therefore let parents now be careful to whom they commit their children.[45]

While Holofernes was a grammarian, the faithful Sir Nathaniel had nonetheless examined the work of his petty school and was prepared to give his parishioners the highest commendation of it.

And the commendation which Sir Nathaniel bestows is that for which all scholars were supposed to pray every morning:

vouchsafe with thy heauenly beames so to lighten our mindes and wits, and to indue vs with such desire and loue of good learning, wisedome, & vertue, with such docilitie to conceaue, and memory to reteine ye same, that we in our childhood & youth being wel instructed in all good letters, & vertue, may growe to be learned and godly men, to the profitable seruice of the common wealth, and of thy holy Church, and to the setting forth of thy glory.[46]

This is from "A morning prayer for scholers," which was in the officially required *Catechism* of Nowell from Shakspere's earliest days in grammar school and makes clear what Sir Nathaniel means by saying that Holofernes is a good member of the commonwealth. This petition echoes the phraseology of a section in the canons of 1571.

[44] *Love's Labor's Lost,* IV, 2, 75-79.
[45] Coote, *School-Master* (1673), Preface to the Reader.
[46] Nowell, *Institution* (1572), p. [H7v].

And once euery yeare they shall signifie to the Byshop, what chosen scholers they haue of all their number, which are of that aptnes, and so forward in learning, that there may be good hope they will become fitte, either for the common wealth, or for the holy ministerie.

Schoolmasters were supposed to report to the Bishops every year all who gave promise of becoming fit "either for the common wealth, or for the holy ministerie." So it was the scholar's morning prayer that he might grow up "to the profitable seruice of the common wealth, and of thy holy Church." The "morning prayer" of the scholar Holofernes has been answered. By his diligence he has grown to be a "learned and godly man, to the profitable seruice of the common wealth." Sir Nathaniel, the counterpart representative "of thy holy Church," says Holofernes is "a scholar at the least . . . a good member of the commonwealth." Higher praise could no man receive, and Holofernes receives it with proud immodesty.

Holofernes, on the other hand, views Sir Nathaniel with equal satisfaction. When he has been invited to dinner at the home of a pupil he feels perfectly free to extend the invitation to Sir Nathaniel, even to Dull also. Being the supreme representatives of culture in their community, "we of taste and feeling are,"[47] the two do the social honors and so as "the two learned men"[48] are called on to construct and participate in the play which is to be put on before the sovereign. As an "arts-man," whom Sir Nathaniel considers to be "a scholar at the least," Master Holofernes is able and wholly willing to teach beyond his proper petty work anything that may be desired.

Hol. Mehercle, if their sons be ingenuous, they shall want no instruction; if their daughters be capable, I will put it to them.[49]

But this is petty school in a "pay-house," with both boys and girls, not a free grammar school, with boys only. Yet it is the only school of the community and as usual under such circumstances the only schoolmaster did whatever needed doing in a cultural and educational way. Holofernes was "a good member of the commonwealth."

This status of Holofernes as only and solely an abcedarius, teaching a petty school of boys and girls in a "charge-house"

[47] *Love's Labor's Lost,* IV, 2, 29.
[48] *Love's Labor's Lost,* IV, 2, 80-82.
[49] *Love's Labor's Lost,* V, 2, 895.

has been very generally overlooked. The fact that he is an "arts-man," "Master Holofernes," and forever overflowing with superabundant and paraded Latin learning has probably tended to obscure the perfectly clear and unequivocal status of Holofernes. If there was a demand for work above the petty level Holofernes was qualified, and expressed himself as ready to give it. This situation must have been the usual one for small communities without regular grammar schools. That is, Holofernes is a country schoolmaster; the thing that William Beeston avouches Shakspere had been. To connect Holofernes with Harrow or any other regular grammar school such as Merchant Taylors' or Paul's with Mulcaster is—but let us be charitable!

Still less can we identify Holofernes as John Florio, the great teacher of Italian in London, instructing the most powerful noblemen in the realm. I fear that Shakspere and his contemporaries would have considered that identification the hugest jest of all. Florio's biographer, Miss Yates, is forced by the facts she has assembled concerning Florio to admit that Holofernes can not be considered a picture of him. Nevertheless, she expresses the intention of believing that Holofernes is a satire on Florio. She proposes in future work to proceed by showing that *Love's Labor's Lost* contains

> the entirely new set of ideas suggested by Eliot's mockery of the refugee language-teachers which would at last account for such jokes as that of Armado's about the "charge-house" (indicating the new type of private school kept for profit by the French refugees) and Holofernes's quotation of Florio's "Venetia, Venetia, chi non ti vede non ti pretia" proverb. As Florio certainly had a share in the satire of *Ortho-epia Gallica,* so I think he is certainly represented in *Love's Labour's Lost.* I would hesitate to say that either Holofernes or Armado is an exact portrait of him—they evidently owe much to the *commedia dell' arte* types—but I believe that at times both these characters, and particularly Holofernes when quoting the proverb, spoke in a way which the audience would recognise as Florio's very voice and manner.[50]

As to the first of these ideas, that Shakspere is satirizing the French refugee schoolmasters, it should be pointed out that Holofernes is neither a foreigner nor a teacher of a modern foreign language. He is an Englishman, teaching in an English

[50]Yates, Frances A., *John Florio,* p. 335. These ideas have now been much elaborated and thereby weakened into fantasticality by Miss Yates in *A Study of Love's Labour's Lost.*

petty-school.[51] These petty-schools were regularly "charge-houses," as indeed were many other schools besides those kept by the teachers of modern foreign languages in London. This point is thus the merest mare's nest.

The single Italian proverb quoted by Holofernes counts quite positively against identifying him with Florio rather than for it, since he follows the form in James Sanford's *Garden of Pleasure,* edition of 1576, not that in Florio. This work is a translation of Lodovico Guicciardini's *L' Hore Di Ricreatione,* with additions. The title of the edition of 1576 is given as

Houres of Recreation,/ or Afterdinners/ Which may aptly be called/ The Garden of Pleasure:/ Containing most pleasant Tales, worthy/ deedes, and wittie sayings of noble/ Princes & learned Philosophers,/ with their Morals./ No lesse delectable, than profitable./ Done firste out of Italian into Englishe by/ JAMES SANDFORD GENT./ and now by him newly perused, corrected, and enlarged./ Wherein are also set foorth diuers Verses and/ Sentences in Italian, with the English to/ the same, for the benefit of students in both toungs./ Imprinted at London,/ by Henry Binneman./ ANNO 1576. 12°.[52]

In the added materials, on p. 223, the verse *Venetia, chi non ti vede, non ti pretia* is translated into English as "Venice, he that doth not see thee, doth not esteeme thee."[53] In the first edition, 1573, the Italian appears to have read "prese" instead of "pretia"[54] and the translation was made accordingly.

This divergent reading with static translation is important because it is the divergent form which Holofernes has used. I quote him in the unedited form of quarto and folio.

Ah good olde *Mantuan,* I may speake of thee as the traueiler doth of *Venice, vemchie, vencha, que non te vnde, que non te perreche.* Olde *Mantuan,* olde *Mantuan,* Who vnderstandeth thee not, loues thee not.[55]

While the Italian is murdered, yet the significant points have not been obscured beyond recovery. It will be seen that the Italian should have run, "Venetia, Venetia, chi non ti vede, chi non ti prese," though it may be intended that Holofernes himself should murder the quotation, wherein he has been ably

[51]The fact that the scene is France has not made Frenchmen out of the characters, even though it has given them French titles, including that of Holofernes, a comic teacher of petty subjects who had been portrayed by Rabelais.

[52]Keller, W., "Zu Shakespeares italienischer Reise," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch,* Vol. XXXV, p. 261. [53]*Ibid.,* p. 263. [54]Yates, *Florio,* p. 38.

[55]*Love's Labor's Lost,* IV, 2, 96-102.

assisted by the printer. It will be noticed, too, that *perreche* is a phonetic spelling of *pretia* as in Sanford's second edition, not *prese* as in the first. It looks as if Shakspere had set down a phonetic version of the Italian for the benefit of an actor who did not know the language, and that a compositor who was no better equipped and found the hand difficult besides has further confounded confusion. Still further, Shakspere is himself using his memory and furnishing his own version of the remembered translation directly from the Italian.

> chi non ti vede, non ti pretia
> he that doth not see thee, doth not esteeme thee
> Who vnderstandeth thee not, loues thee not

The ultimate source is Sanford's version of 1576, but Shakspere is himself only using his memory of it. So Shakspere's memory, his phonetic version for the actor, perhaps because he did not know Italian well enough to give the correct form without looking it up, and the equally uninformed printer have conspired to produce a marvelous result. But the original form of the quoted form is quite clear, and it is that given by Sanford in his second edition, 1576, whether Shakspere himself had it from that source or not.

The form in Florio is different. He gives an enlarged and balanced form of the saying. In his *First Fruites,* 1578, it reads,

Venetia, chi non ti vede, non ti pretia, ma chi ti vede, ben gli costa.	Venise, woo seeth thee not, praiseth thee not, but who seeth thee, it costeth hym wel.[56]

It will be noticed that Florio here translates *pretia* as *praises.* But in the *Second Frvtes* the Italian has been arranged as a couplet and the English translation revamped accordingly.

> Who sees not Venice cannot esteeme it,
> But he that sees it payes well for it.[57]

The English translation of *pretia* has now been changed to "esteeme" as in Sanford's version.

I suppose Florio makes this change in order to conform to what he considered to be the popular English form of the proverb. For the English of it is to be had in the *Book of*

[56]Del Re, A., *Florio's First Fruites,* Pt. I, p. 91; p. 34 r of Florio's own edition.
[57]Florio, John, *Second Frvtes* (1591), pp. 106-7; Sunderland copy, belonging to the Library of the University of Illinois.

Riddles, found so useful by the weak-witted Master Slender to help him shine in society.

Slen. I had rather than forty shillings I had my Book of Songs and Sonnets here.

Enter Simple.

How now, Simple! where have you been? I must wait on myself, must I? You have not the Book of Riddles about you, have you?

Sim. Book of Riddles! why did you not lend it to Alice Shortcake upon All-hallowmas last, a fortnight afore Michaelmas?[58]

The title-page will indicate the use to which Master Slender wished to put the collection.

The Booke of mery Riddles. Together with proper Questions, and wittie Proverbs to make pleasant Pastime. No lesse usefull then behoovefull for any young man or child to know if he be quicke-witted or no . . . London . . . 1600[59]

Though Slender did not find his book, we know whether "he be quicke-witted or no." The English form of the proverb quoted here is Sanford's translation. Laneham in 1575 mentions a "book of riddels" as being in the library of Captain Cox, which was probably an earlier edition of this same book and so had probably already borrowed Sanford's translation from the edition of 1573. Sanford's form of the proverb is thus likely to have been the popularly current one.

An item which was in such collections as that of Sanford and the *Book of Riddles* had excellent chance of becoming known to Shakspere. But he does not use the form in Master Slender's *Book of Riddles,* and I know of no other evidence worth repeating that Shakspere ever himself actually used Sanford's collection. Anyway, a commonly current proverb taken from a very large collection of such materials could hardly point very distinctively to the collector, especially since he was only one collector of it. If Shakspere intended to point to Florio with this proverb, he certainly failed to make his allusion recognizable, especially since but very few of the audience would ever have even heard of John Florio, much less have known him well enough to recognize his "very voice and manner." These arguments advanced by Miss Yates thus in fact count quite strongly against Holofernes as Florio.

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[58] *Merry Wives,* I, 1, 205-212.

[59] Collier, J. P., *A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language* (1865), Vol. II, p. 264.

Fundamentally and avowedly Holofernes is a country schoolmaster, teaching petty school and consequently ready to teach a smattering of almost anything the local situation demanded. He is neither a teacher in grammar school nor of modern foreign languages. All characteristics which can be accounted for on this fundamental and avowed basis must be so accounted for until and unless the particular characteristic can be definitely shown to require other explanation. So far, those characteristics which have been alleged to need other interpretation have not stood examination.

Quite properly, Holofernes expends most of his energies upon teaching his boys and girls to read. Nothing is said of teaching to write, though presumably Holofernes also gave some instruction upon that art as all the theorists wished. But this was sometimes attended to by some type of professional writing master, giving special instruction for a few weeks before the boy completed petty school, in preparation for his work in grammar school. Nor do we know whether Holofernes taught numeration and the casting of accounts. We can hardly use Holofernes as an accurate portrait of Shakspere's own abcedarius at Stratford, though, of course, Holofernes well may have some touches from that source, if only we could identify them.

CHAPTER VIII

SHAKSPERE'S WRITING AND CASTING ACCOUNTS

AS WE HAVE SEEN, PETTY SCHOOL AIMED, at most, to teach to read, to write, and in some places to cast accounts. Shakspere's own regular form of reference is to writing and reading. One remembers Dogberry's famous pronouncement, "to be a well-favoured man is the gift of fortune; but to write and read comes by nature."[1] Because of forged letters, Imogen says,

> To write and read
> Be henceforth treacherous![2]

This reminds us of the fate of the Clerk of Chatham, who could, "write and read and cast accompt."[3] Here alone does Shakspere join the third R, if this be Shakspere's. Also, the Clerk of Chatham is apparently a grammar school teacher.

On the method of learning to write Clement is the most specific of our theorists. He says,

> The writer must prouide him these seuē: *paper, incke, pen, penknife, ruler, deske,* and *dustbox,* of these the three first are most necessarie, the foure latter very requisite.[4]

The most requisite first three Shakspere frequently mentions, of course. He makes a ludicrous reference to the sharpness of a penknife. Shadow "presents no mark to the enemy; the foeman may with as great aim level at the edge of a penknife."[5] Shakspere connects a desk in *The Comedy of Errors* with money, but also once with a "table-book."[6] He does not mention ruler or dustbox. But then since he wrote without blots, he needed neither dustbox nor blotter! From the number and vigor of his expressions it would seem that he really did abhor blots.

As to the paper, Clement advises, "The whitest, finest, and smothest paper is best."[7] Lorenzo says of Jessica and her letter

> And whiter than the paper it writ on
> Is the fair hand that writ.[8]

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[1] *Much Ado,* III, 3, 14-16; cf. 12, 21. [2] *Cymbeline,* IV, 2, 316-317.
[3] *2 Henry VI,* IV, 2, 92-3. [4] Clement, *Petie Schole* (1587), p. D₃v.
[5] *2 Henry IV,* III, 2, 284-6. [6] *Hamlet,* II, 2, 136.
[7] Clement, *Petie Schole* (1587), p. D₃v. [8] *Merchant of Venice,* II, 4, 13-14.

Again of frightened men, "Their cheeks are paper."[9] Othello asks of Desdemona,

> Was this fair paper, this most goodly book,
> Made to write 'whore' upon?[10]

And Pisanio can think of nothing worse to say than that the paper is "Black as the ink that's on thee,"[11] though it looks so "virgin-like without."

For ink, Clement directs,

Put into a quart of water two oũces of right gumme Arabick, fiue ounces of galles, and three of copras. Let it stãd couered in the warme sunne, and so will it the sooner proue good incke. To boyle the sayd stuffe together a litle vpon the fire would make it more speedy for your writyng: but ye vnboyled yeldeth a fayrer glosse, & lõger indureth. In stead of water wine were best for this purpose. Refresh your incke with wine, or vineger, whẽ it waxeth thicke.

To chuse the quills.

Of quills, the fayrest, whitest, and roundest are best, the third and fourth of ye wing of goose, or rauen: but where these are not, the pinnion quill hath no fellow.[12]

Shakspere, of course, knew the composition of both pen and ink. Sir Toby advises Sir Andrew Aguecheek about his challenge, "Let there be gall enough in thy ink, though thou write with a goose-pen, no matter."[13] Sir Andrew was certain to write with a goose-pen in more senses than one. In another connection it had been said, "that many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose-quills."[14] Posthumus says,

> And with mine eyes I'll drink the words you send,
> Though ink be made of gall.[15]

Here, as in the reference above, Shakspere is thinking of the bitterness of gall, to which he refers also elsewhere. Shakspere refers to gum Arabic as medicinal only,[16] not as a component of ink; and does not refer to copras. He probably bought his ink, and did not make it.

Proteus advises Sir Thurio to

> Write till your ink be dry, and with your tears
> Moist it again.[17]

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[9]*Henry V,* II, 2, 74. [10]*Othello,* IV, 2, 71-2. [11]*Cymbeline,* III, 2, 20, 22.
[12]Clement, *Petie Schole* (1587), pp. D_2v—D_3r.
[13]*Twelfth Night,* III, 2, 52-54. [14]*Hamlet,* II, 2, 358-9.
[15]*Cymbeline,* I, 1, 100-101. [16]*Othello,* V, 2, 351.
[17]*Two Gentlemen of Verona,* III, 2, 75-6.

For

> Never durst poet touch a pen to write
> Until his ink were temper'd with Love's sighs.[18]

In the school colloquies, one boy sometimes advises another to use a much less decorous form of moisture than tears and sighs for the purpose, but Clement prefers wine or vinegar to any form of water. For the pen, Armado writes of "that obscene and most preposterous event, that draweth from my snow-white pen the ebon-coloured ink."[19] Armado was using a white goose quill, and ink of a good gloss, warmed in the sun we presume. It is Caliban who talks of

> As wicked dew as e'er my mother brush'd
> With raven's feather from unwholesome fen.[20]

The raven is a bird of evil omen and furnishes no quills for Shakspere, not even for the quill of Lucrece, where we would have expected it, especially after Time had there already "pluck[ed] the quills from ancient ravens' wings." Dogberry ordered that Francis Seacole should "bring his pen and ink-horn,"[21] as it proved, that he might write Dogberry down ass. There is no standish in Shakspere.

As for the styles of handwriting, Olivia writes the Roman hand. Says Malvolio, "I think we do know the sweet Roman hand."[22]

> *Mal.* By my life, this is my lady's hand: these be her very C's, her U's and her T's; and thus makes she her great P's. It is, in contempt of question, her hand.
> *Sir And.* Her C's, her U's, and her T's: why that?[23]

The reader need not look for the answer to Sir Andrew's question in the words of the letter itself or in discussions of the Roman hand, such as that of Clement. After all, Olivia tells us,

> this is not my writing,
> Though, I confess, much like the character:
> But out of question 'tis Maria's hand.[24]

And so another handwriting expert meets the usual fate, even

[18] *Love's Labor's Lost,* IV, 3, 346-7. [19] *Love's Labor's Lost,* I, 1, 244-6.
[20] *Tempest,* I, 2, 321-2.
[21] *Much Ado,* III, 5, 63; *Cf. 1 Henry VI,* III, 1, 99; *2 Henry VI,* IV, 2, 117.
[22] *Twelfth Night,* III, 4, 30-31. [23] *Twelfth Night,* II, 5, 95-100.
[24] *Twelfth Night,* V, 1, 353-5.

though he was certain not only of the hand but also of the phrase and the invention. There is a further reference to Roman letter in *Titus Andronicus* (V, 1, 139). The Clerk of Chatham could "write court-hand."[25]

Shakspere's most specific reference, however, is in *Love's Labor's Lost.* The ladies are jesting about their "fairings" from the gentlemen and the verses attached. Rosaline says of Biron,

> O, he hath drawn my picture in his letter!
> *Prin.* Any thing like?
> *Ros.* Much in the letters; nothing in the praise.
> *Prin.* Beauteous as ink; a good conclusion.
> *Kath.* Fair as a text B in a copy-book.[26]

Rosaline is "black;" consequently, like the letters of her verses, she is as "Beauteous as ink;" hence "Fair as a text B in a copy-book." A text B in a copy-book is thus used as the best-inked letter in it.

The allusion is apt. The earliest known English-printed copy-book and the only known one early enough for Shakspere to have used it in petty school is that by John De Beauchesne and John Baildon.[27] Its dedication is dated 1569 and the earliest known edition is of 1570.[28] This was *the* copy-book of Shakspere's day in school, and is most likely in some edition to have been used by him. It was printed by Vautrollier, and then by his successor, Richard Field, who was Shakspere's fellow townsman and only publisher. Shakspere would certainly have seen it at some time. His allusion to the text B fits this copy-book quite exactly. After the preliminaries, it settles down to illustrate the different hands. The first sentiment begins with A, the second with B, and so on through the alphabet. These initials are blocked, highly ornamented, and extra-illustrated as it were, text letters. Shakspere's choice of B as the inkiest is, I suppose, rather a matter of personal taste, though after looking at this set I am willing to accept his choice. I suppose its tendency to roundness also entered the comparison with Rosaline's face, since it evokes a jest about O's in the face.

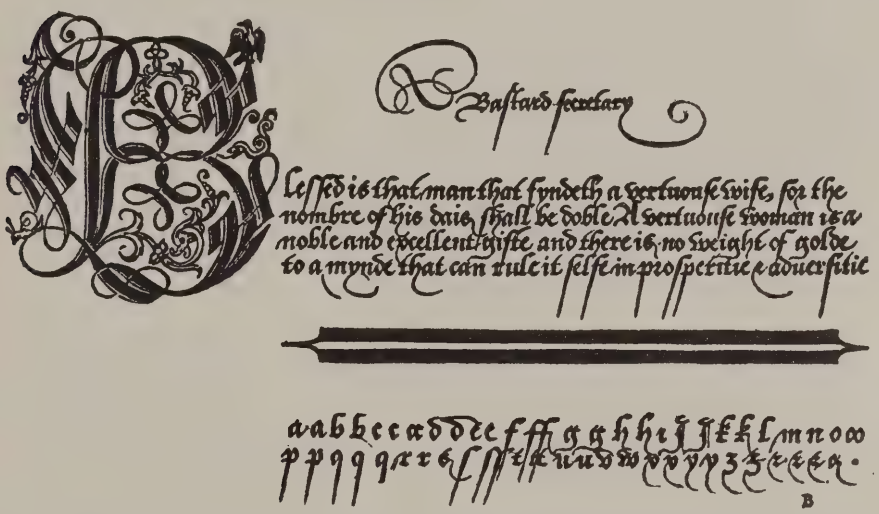
[25] *2 Henry VI,* IV, 2, 100-101. [26] *Love's Labor's Lost,* V, 2, 38-42.
[27] Heal, A., *The English Writing-Masters and their Copy-Books 1570-1800,* pp. 127-8.
[28] Plimpton Collection, Columbia University, which has granted a photographic facsimilie to the Library of the University of Illinois.

Incidentally, the sentiment, written in "A Bastard secretary" hand, is,

Blessed is that man that fyndeth a vertuouse wife, for the nombre of his dais shall be doble A vertuouse woman is a noble and excellent gifte and there is no weight of golde to a mynde that can rule it selfe in prosperitie & aduersitie.

If this is not Shakspere's very own B, it is at least of the type to which he is referring, and the sentiment which it introduced would not have been inapt for the occasion.

Other items of information Shakspere may have gathered at this stage of his training, which, so far as technical pro-


Bastard secretary
Lessed is that man that fyndeth a vertuouse wife, for the nombre of his dais, shall be doble A vertuouse woman is a noble and excellent gifte and there is no weight of golde to a mynde that can rule it selfe in prosperitie & aduersitie
B

"A Bastard secretary" hand, from *A Booke Containing Divers Sortes of hands*, John Baildon, 1570. Reproduced from photostat (18.3 centimeters wide) of original in the Plimpton Collection of Columbia University Library, by permission.

ficiency is concerned, was chiefly aimed at preparing him to read and write sufficiently well to read and memorize the accidence and rules of the authorized Latin grammar in English during his first year in grammar school, if already he had not done some part of that work under the abcedarius. The elements of the third R, Arithmetic, may also have been begun at this stage, and we should now notice that Shakspere knew such elements as Coote and Clement thought were indispensible for this subject. If Shakspere did not get the elements of all

three R's under the abcedarius, then they were added to him later, for have them he did, sooner or later.

Coote performs his promise to furnish the first part of arithmetic thus:

The First Part of Arithmetick, called Numeration.

All numbers are made by the divers placing of these nine figures. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. and this circle (0) called a Cypher. Now look how many of them stand together, in so many several places they must needs stand. But mark that thou call that which is next to thy right hand, the first place, and so go on (as it were) backward, calling the next to him towards the left hand, the second place, the next the third place, and so forth as far as thou wilt. Secondly, the further any figure standeth from the first place, the greater he is: every following place being greater by ten times than that next before: as (5) in the first place is but five, in the second place ten times five, that is, five times ten, which is fifty; in the third place five hundred, in the fourth place, five thousand: in the fifth place, fifty thousand; and so thou may'st proceed: As for example, the number thus placed, 1672, being this present year from the birth of Christ, is one thousand six hundred and seventy two: & this number 5691. being this presant year from the Creation (though otherwise commonly taken) is five thousand six hundred ninety one. But my Book growing greater then I purposed, pardon me (I pray thee) though I break off this matter sooner then peradventure (thou may'st think) I promised.[29]

This is all the arithmetic the petties get from Coote. Clement merely takes a great deal more space to furnish exactly the same information upon the same first part of arithmetic only. Bullokar, Mulcaster, and Kempe are not interested.

Shakspere knows and uses figuratively this fundamental doctrine of "The First Part of Arithmetick, called Numeration." Polixenes says to Leontes,

> Nine changes of the watery star hath been
> The shepherd's note since we have left our throne
> Without a burthen: time as long again
> Would be fill'd up, my brother, with our thanks;
> And yet we should, for perpetuity,
> Go hence in debt: and, therefore, like a cipher,
> Yet standing in rich place, I multiply
> With one "We thank you" many thousands moe
> That go before it.[30]

One cipher, if it stood in rich place with many more preceding, multiplied by ten all the riches that had preceded. I suppose the cipher was suggested by the opening "nine," which was in turn

[29] Coote, *School-Master* (1673), p. 51. [30] *Winter's Tale*, I, 2, 1-9.

demanded to make physically possible a little later the suspicions of Leontes. The whole figure was thus naturally suggested by the doctrine of place, which was evidently firmly fixed in Shakspere's mind. The idea of place was itself evoked by the rich place or position in which Polixenes as king stood.

Shakspere had already used the same doctrine in *Henry V.*

> O pardon! since a crooked figure may
> Attest in little place a million;
> And let us, ciphers to this great accompt,
> On your imaginary forces work.[31]

In this case, "this wooden O" of the theater had suggested the ciphers. So first Shakspere refers to the "crooked figure" which is the sign of a million, though in "little place," and then asks that the actors may act as ciphers to the imaginations of the audience to multiply the numbers. Incidentally, while Shakspere uses here and frequently the term million, he also uses upon occasion "thousand thousand," for as Clement explains "The seuenth place is of thousande thousandes, which is a million." The natural nothingness of a cipher Shakspere has also used elsewhere in forceful figures which we need not here rehearse.

But since a reading in one of these has apparently never been understood and so has been stigmatized by the Cambridge editors as being corrupt, it may be just as well to set it right. I quote the second quarto of *Romeo and Juliet,* 1599, which is followed except for some minor details of spelling etc. by the First Folio. Capulet addresses Paris on his suit for Juliet.

> This night I hold, an old accustomed feast,
> Whereto I haue inuited many a guest:
> Such as I loue, and you among the store,
> One more, most welcome makes my number more:
> At my poore house, looke to behold this night,
> Earthtreading starres, that make darke heauen light:
> Such comfort as do lustie young men feele,
> When well appareld Aprill on the heele,
> Of limping winter treads, euen such delight
> Among fresh fennell buds shall you this night
> Inherit at my house, heare all, all see:
> And like her most, whose merit most shall bee:
> Which one more view, of many, mine being one,
> May stand in number, though in reckning none.[32]

[31] *Henry V,* Prologue, 15-18. [32] *Romeo and Juliet,* I, 2, 20-33.

Capulet has begun his figure by saying that Paris,

> One more, most welcome makes my number more.

Then he ties the end of his speech back to this figure to include Juliet in it. I paraphrase, "Which [number, you being, as I said in the first place] one more, view; of many, mine being one,/ May stand in number, though in reckning none." Paris has been designated as "one more" in the beginning of the figure, and is so referred to in the recapitulation at the end of it. Both the figure and the rhetorical structure make the reading certain. So, in spite of all the Christian ink which has been shed upon it, the line merely needs repunctuation to bring this out.[33]

> Which, one more, view; of many, mine being one

The first quarto, 1597, understood the meaning, though it mangled the rhetorical form. I repunctuate

> Such amongst, view; of many, myne beeing one,
> May stand in number, though in reckoning none.

This quarto also gives the now accepted reading "female" for "fennell." Capulet modestly says that among such female buds Juliet may stand in the number to make up one more, though in reckoning or value she does not compare with them. After Paris has seen these real beauties, he may make up his mind about Juliet. She may be used to make up a number, but in the reckoning she is only a cipher (none), without place. Such a cipher adds nothing to the number, though it be present.

Clement explains the allusion as proverbial.

> The figures, or characters are these ten.1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.0. Of these characters ye first nine are signifiyng: the circle or cypher beyng ye tenth, denoteth nothing of it self, onely it is set before some one, or moe of the other to increase their place and value. And frō this empty supply of the cypher hath our common prouerbe found for them, which occupying some place for shew and quantitie are nothyng answerable thereto in qualitie: but stād (we say) like a cypher in Algorisme.[34]

So the Fool tells Lear, "Now thou art an O without a figure: I am better than thou art now; I am a fool, thou art nothing."[35] The cipher without a figure "denoteth nothing of it self." The Fool had just arrived at a cipher as Lear's figure thus; "thou

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[33]The devilment was done by trying to emend the reading of Q_4 Q_5, "Which on more," this being the reading adopted and marked as corrupt by the Cambridge editors. [34]Clement, *Petie Schole* (1587), p. E_1r. [35]*Lear*, I, 4, 211-213.

hast pared thy wit o' both sides, and left nothing i' the middle."[36] Lear has made himself the cipher of a ternary, and so has lost his place. For "A cypher in the thirde seate of a ternary loseth his place."[37] Lear had taken this third position by parting his kingdom between his daughters, and now was without place, being only a cipher without a figure. As Record puts it, ciphers "are of no value themselues, but they serue to make vp number of places" (p. 49).

Whence and where Shakspere had his knowledge of arithmetic is not directly indicated. He once refers to the book of arithmetic. Mercutio says Tybalt is "a villain, that fights by the book of arithmetic!"[38] Earlier he had said, "He fights as you sing prick-song, keeps time, distance, and proportion; rests me his minim rest, one, two, and the third in your bosom,"[39] indicating what he meant. The connection between arithmetic and music may be illustrated by a quotation from Record's *Arithmetic.*

Musicke hath not onely great helpe of Arithmeticke, but is made, and hath his perfectnesse of it: for all Musicke standeth by number and proportion. (p. 36).

The contemporary methods of duelling did emphasize the matter of timing. Iago, too, sneers at Cassio as "a great arithmetician,[40] a man of "bookish theoric." Record is again ready to boost his wares. Arithmetic is necessary

in due prouision and order of armies in time of warre: For numbring of the host, summing of their wages, prouisions of victuals, viewing of artillerie, with other armour: Beside the cunningest poynt of all, for casting of ground, for encamping of men, with such other like (p. 38).

But in spite of Record Shakspere's gentlemen are rather contemptuous of arithmetic as befitting mere tradesmen. "I am ill at reckoning; it fitteth the spirit of a tapster" says Armado;[41] though as "a gentleman and a gamester," which "are both the varnish of a complete man" he manages to understand some simple arithmetic. Shakspere does not exhibit any profound knowledge of it, and from what source he himself had his own modicum of "bookish theoric" is not indicated, nor where and when. If it was derived formally from a book of arithmetic, that book was most likely to have been Record's, as the cur-

[36] *Lear,* I, 4, 204-6. [37] Clement, *Petie Schole* (1587), E4r.
[38] *Romeo and Juliet,* III, 1, 105-6. [39] *Romeo and Juliet,* II, 4, 21-23.
[40] *Othello,* I, 1, 19. [41] *Love's Labor's Lost,* I, 2, 42-3.

rent one in English and recommended by Brinsley, though for ciphering school, not for either petty or grammar school.

It is not likely, however, that Shakspere acquired more than mere numeration, which was the first part of arithmetic, and possibly the art of casting accounts in petty school. He may not have acquired that much there. Coote presents only the first, and that in one paragraph. Clement adds instruction as to how to use the counters. Neither expects to teach in petty school any real arithmetic. We have found occasionally in the school statutes the same maximum expectation of learning to cast accounts, but nothing higher, and frequently much less. If Shakspere ever attended in addition ciphering school, at least he does not mention ciphering in this sense, and I have found nothing to indicate certainly that he went past numeration and casting accounts.

It is particularly interesting that Clement should demonstrate how to use counters, apparently translating some Latin treatise on the subject. Shakspere knew at least that there were counters, their physical characteristics, and the uses to which they were put. The First Gaoler is comforting Posthumus on his prospects of being hanged.

> O, the charity of a penny cord! it sums up thousands in a trice: you have no true debitor and creditor but it; of what's past, is, and to come, the discharge: your neck, sir, is pen, book and counters; so the acquittance follows.[42]

One neck served the functions of all the paraphernalia of accounting. But the Clown in *Winter's Tale* was not so well provided.

> Let me see: every 'leven wether tods; every tod yields pound and odd shilling; fifteen hundred shorn, what comes the wool to? . . . I cannot do't without counters.[43]

Clowns could not do their simple sums without counters. Similarly, counters were not satisfactory for the great sums of princes. Troilus rebukes Hector,

> Fie, fie, my brother!
> Weigh you the worth and honour of a king
> So great as our dread father in a scale
> Of common ounces? will you with counters sum
> The past proportion of his infinite?[44]

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[42] *Cymbeline*, V, 4, 169-174. [43] *Winter's Tale*, IV, 3, 33-38.
[44] *Troilus and Cressida*, II, 2, 25-29.

Counters belong to the arithmetic of commoners, not of kings. This is part of the contempt in Iago's description of Cassio,

> a great arithmetician
> . . . . . .
> And I . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> must be be-lee'd and calm'd
> By debitor and creditor: this counter-caster.[45]

Cassio is a mere tradesman's book-keeper, not a soldier.

Shakspere has not actually demonstrated his ability to use counters, but the little problem in wool comes close to it, especially when we remember that Shakspere was the oldest son of a dealer in wool. We feel that if the Clown had been provided with counters he could have arrived at the correct answer to his problem. But Shakspere associates counters with business always, never with school. He may have learned to use them at school. If not, he is certain to have learned to use them in his father's business in arriving at a true sum for "debitor and creditor"—one should notice the repeated technical term. One remembers here, too, the contention of Holofernes that something approximating "debit" was the true pronunciation of "debt," not "det." Incidentally, this word was not impressed on Holofernes by the Lord's Prayer, since the *Prayer-Book* reads trespass and not debt. These technical points of book-keeping, not counter-casting, sound more like "bookish theoric," even though it should happen that they come from the wool-shop. We have seen that Shakspere did have some knowledge of the theory of arithmetic, wherever acquired. But there is nothing to indicate more than the usual modicum. He probably learned numeration in petty school while he was also learning to write.

[45] *Othello*, I, 1, 19-31.

CHAPTER IX

SHAKSPERE'S REFLECTIONS OF *THE ABC WITH THE CATECHISM*

SHAKSPERE MAKES IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR that he learned to read from *The ABC with the Catechism,* the conventional text of his day. Says Philip Faulconbridge,

> Why then I suck my teeth and catechize
> My picked man of countries: 'My dear sir,'
> Thus, leaning on mine elbow, I begin,
> 'I shall beseech you'—that is question now;
> And then comes answer like an Absey[1] book:
> 'O sir', says answer, 'at your best command;
> At your employment; at your service, sir:'
> 'No, sir,' says question, 'I, sweet sir, at yours:'
> And so, ere answer knows what question would,
> Saving in dialogue of compliment,
> And talking of the Alps and Apennines,
> The Pyrenean and the river Po,
> It draws toward supper in conclusion so.[2]

As has long been known, Shakspere refers here to the questions and answers of the catechism in the Absey book as the figurative framework for his "dialogue of compliment."[3]

That ought to settle pretty conclusively the textbook from which Shakspere learned to read. A possible catastrophe in the process also furnishes the figure "to sigh, like a schoolboy that had lost his ABC."[4] As we have seen, learning to read *The ABC with the Catechism* was the regular procedure to insure pious little boys, who were already baptized into, and now were being prepared to support and defend the established Church of England. William was brought up in the church way

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[1] "*Abcedarium, rij,* An absee" (Cooper, *Thesaurus* (1565)). For other instances of the term, see above, pp. 29, 31, 67, 77. [2] *King John,* I, 1, 192-204.

[3] See Watson, *Grammar Schools,* pp. 161 ff for a summary not wholly accurate because of lack of knowledge of the actual books involved, and for a bibliography of earlier treatments. Also Anders, *ABC,* pp. 32-48; Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 86. For a facsimile of an alphabet of moral tags printed in 1575, see Halliwell's edition of Shakespeare, Vol. II, between pp. 78 and 79. There is an interesting illustration of a schoolroom. [4] *Two Gentlemen,* II, 1, 22-3.

he should go, and there is the best of evidence that he never, at least publicly, departed therefrom.

For the ABC's proper, Shakspere has Clarence say of his brother Edward

> He hearkens after prophecies and dreams;
> And from the cross-row plucks the letter G.[5]

and Kent calls Oswald "Thou whoreson zed! thou unnecessary letter!"[6]

The function of letters in the process of reading is twice referred to in *Romeo and Juliet.*

Serv. God gi' god-den. I pray, sir, can you read?
Rom. Ay, mine own fortune in my misery.
Serv. Perhaps you have learned it without book: but, I pray, can you read any thing you see?
Rom. Ay, if I know the letters and the language.[7]

Again in the same play Friar Laurence tells Romeo that Rosaline

> knew well
> Thy love did read by rote and could not spell.[8]

It will be remembered that the experts were much exercised over the possibility that children might merely read "without book" and "by rote," without being able to spell, or might also be able to spell by rote, without understanding the process.

A further reference is likely to have come to Shakspere's attention quite early in his efforts to spell, though it was being advertized in current accusations of Marlowe and his comrades. Hero says of Beatrice "I never yet saw man . . . But she would spell him backward."[9] The reference is on the analogy of spelling the name of God backwards, and Hero proceeds to give illustration of how Beatrice interprets the virtues of various men backwards so as to make vices of them.

These are echoes of the process of learning to read, using *The ABC with the Catechism* as the text. Naturally, Shakspere also shows detailed knowledge of the catechism and its other concomitants. To the process of catechizing, Shakspere has rather frequently referred, and some of his references are in terms of this little catechism.

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[5] *Richard III,* I, 1, 54-5. [6] *King Lear,* II, 2, 69-70.
[7] *Romeo and Juliet,* I, 2, 59-64. [8] *Romeo and Juliet,* II, 3, 87-8.
[9] *Much Ado,* III, 1, 59-61.

Claud. Let me but move one question to your daughter;
And, by that fatherly and kindly power
That you have in her, bid her answer truly.
Leon. I charge thee do so, as thou art my child.
Hero. O, God defend me! how am I beset!
What kind of catechising call you this?
Claud. To make you answer truly to your name.
Hero. Is it not Hero?[10]

The first question of the catechism is "What is your name?" Hence Claudio's answer to Hero's question concerning catechizing. He thinks her true name is not Hero but whore, and intends to make her answer truly to her name.

Hero asks the question because, "The Canons of 1571 ordered that no one could be married without such knowledge" of the catechism, and the articles of inquiry frequently check on obedience to this article of the canons.[11] This rule had been implied by the Prayer-Book, for

those who were married were bound by the Prayer Book of 1559 to receive the Holy Communion on the day of their marriage, and admission to receive the Holy Communion depended on a knowledge of the Catechism.[12]

Hero is "all set" for the *Little Catechism,* but does not recognize Claudio's version of the opening question till he explains.

The form of address at the beginning of the Clown's catechism of Olivia in *Twelfth Night* is probably an echo of the *Little Catechism.*

Good madonna, give me leave to prove you a fool.
. . . . . .
Oli. Make your proof.
Clo. I must catechize you for it, madonna: good my mouse of virtue, answer me.[13]

The "Good madonna" and "good my mouse of virtue" probably echo the "My good child" of the catechism.

The question and answer method of catechisms is also used in *As You Like It.*

Ros. Alas the day! what shall I do with my doublet and hose? What did he when thou sawest him? What said he? How looked he? Wherein went he? What makes he here? Did he ask for me? Where remains he? How parted he with thee? and when shalt thou see him again? Answer me in one word.

[10] *Much Ado,* IV, 1, 74-81.
[11] Frere, *Injunctions,* Vol. III, pp. 259 and n 3, 260, 277, 306.
[12] *Ibid.,* p. 98 n 2. [13] *Twelfth Night,* I, 5, 63-69.

Cel. You must borrow me Gargantua's mouth first: 'tis a word too great for any mouth of this age's size. To say ay and no to these particulars is more than to answer in a catechism.[14]

The form of this catechism is the "ay and no to these particulars" of a legal examination. Falstaff's famous catechism on honor is also of the "aye and no" variety.[15] The Clown in *Othello,* too, says, "I will catechize the world for him; that is, make questions, and by them answer."[16] This is only the general use. But these illustrations show that Shakspere was acquainted both with the general method of catechizing and also with its specific application in the *Little Catechism.*

Shakspere also knew the subject-matter of his *Little Catechism* well.

The Ten Commandments, as contained in the Catechism and as recited in the Communion Service, differ in the wording of the Second and Sixth from that of Exod. xx. in any printed Bible of Shakespeare's time. In the Catechism the Second runs, "and visit the sins of the fathers," and the Sixth, "thou shalt do no murder." In the Second the Bishops' has "visite the sinne of the fathers" and the Genevan "visiting the iniquitie of the fathers," and in the Sixth both read "Thou shalt not kill." Whenever Shakespeare has occasion to make a character allude to either of these commandments, it is to the distinctive form in the Catechism and not to that in the Bibles. For the Second Commandment see *King John,* II.i. 179-82 and *Merchant of Venice,* III. v. 1, and for the Sixth, *King Richard III.,* I.iv. 206.

There used to be a prelude to Confirmation (which contained the Catechism) and when Falstaff pleaded "Thou seest I have more flesh than another man and therefore more frailty," he may be referring to a phrase in that prelude: "partly by the frailtie of their own flesh."[17] But there is no doubt at all that in the first scene of *Love's Labour's Lost* Berowne was quoting from the Catechism when he said, "Not by might master'd, but by special grace."

But the best use of the Catechism must be allowed to Hamlet, when he protests (holding out his hands) that he still loves Guildenstern "by these pickers and stealers" in reference to the reply by the catechumen that it was his duty "To keep my hands from picking and stealing."[18]

When Hamlet says " 'tis for the dead, not for the quick"[19] he is most likely echoing the Apostle's Creed, which occurs prominently in the catechism, and is used in *Morning Prayer,* "he shall come to judge the quick and the dead," though as Noble points out it may be an echo of *Communion, Nicene Creed.*[20]

[14] *As You Like It,* III, 2, 231-241. [15] *1 Henry IV,* V, 1, 128-144.
[16] *Othello,* III, 4, 16-17. [17] This was not in the school text.
[18] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 86. [19] *Hamlet,* V, 1, 137.
[20] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 207.

Thus Shakspere shows detailed knowledge of the subject-matter of the *Little Catechism.* When William presented himself for confirmation, it is clear that he could answer all questions correctly, and he evidently had not forgotten them when he came to be married or when upon emergent occasion later in life he stood godfather. This is one thing we know that Shakspere bore always in mind.

Shakspere should have mastered *The ABC with the Catechism* in petty school well before 1571, when Nowell made additions upon duties and upon the sacraments. But the Latin and the Greek forms of Nowell would have been lying in wait for him and so are likely to have given him occasion to master this added section in English. It seems clear that he had memorized the section on duties.

We begin with the fundamental duty, that to parents.

> *Cor.* I
> Return those duties back as are right fit,
> Obey you, love you, and most honour you.[21]

Savage and Fripp[22] think this is from the Catechism. It certainly echoes the fifth commandment in some form. The *Little Catechism* in commenting upon this duty to "honour" one's father and mother rephrases as "To looue, honor, & succor my Father and Mother."[23] So Cordelia sees it as her duty to "love . . . and . . . honour," but also to "obey." Unfortunately, we do not yet have Nowell's further exposition in English of this comment in his section on duties, but his Latin runs,

> Sacra Scriptura liberos iubet parentibus obtemperare, atque insueruire: parentes timere, charissimos eos habere, eos colere & reuereri: eáque non verbis solum, factísque, sed verè etiam atque ex animo praestare: parentvm praeceptis parere, & vitae eorum exempla imitari.[24]

It, therefore, puts "obey" in the forefront as does Cordelia, using two synonyms in the Latin. It then splits the duty into three; fear, love, and honor. Cordelia's statement of her "duties" toward her father is thus Dean Nowell's exposition of those "duties" in the *Little Catechism.* Her whole phraseology may be accounted for by Dean Nowell's English, when we shall have recovered it, but Nowell's statement is itself an expansion of the briefer comment in the *Little Catechism.* Though Nowell

[21] *King Lear,* I, 1, 98-100.
[22] Savage and Fripp, *Minutes and Accounts,* Vol. III, p. xxviii.
[23] Anders, *ABC,* facsimile. [24] Nowell, *Catechismus paruus* (1573), p. (A_7)r.

furnished the pattern, the shorter comment would reinforce two words of the pattern to the exclusion of fear, which is in a way equated with obedience.

Nowell's *Middle Catechism* also contains Cordelia's words, but not the verbal pattern.

Sch. The honor of Parentes cõteineth loue, feare, and reuerence, and cõsisteth in obeying thẽ, in seruing, helping, and defending them, and also in finding & releauing them, if euer they bee in neede.[25]

The *Largest Catechism* is only slightly fuller in the same phraseology. It seems clear that Cordelia is phrasing her duty in Nowell's words from the *Little Catechism.*

In similar terms, the Duke complains of Silvia's lack of duty.

> lacking duty,
> Neither regarding that she is my child
> Nor fearing me as if I were her father;
> And, may I say to thee, this pride of hers,
> Upon advice, hath drawn my love from her;
> And, where I thought the remnant of mine age
> Should have been cherish'd by her child-like duty,
> I now am full resolved to take a wife
> And turn her out to who will take her in:
> Then let her beauty be her wedding-dower;
> For me and my possessions she esteems not.[26]

The reader will here recognize immediately the Lear-Cordelia situation and the Lear reaction to it. The Duke had expected

> the remnant of mine age
> Should have been cherish'd by her child-like duty.

Nowell had directed, "parentes, si fortè in egestatem, aut afflictam fortunam inciderint, facultatibus suis subleuare atque alere," which is substantially the phraseology of his fuller catechisms also, quoted above.

Duncan and Macbeth have also learned their reciprocal duties from Nowell's catechisms. The speech of Macbeth demonstrates all the points.

> *Macb.* The service and the loyalty I owe,
> In doing it, pays itself. Your highness' part
> Is to receive our duties; and our duties
> Are to your throne and state children and servants,
> Which do but what they should, by doing every thing
> Safe toward your love and honour.[27]

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[25]Nowell, *Institution* (1572), pp. B_3v-B_8r. [26]*Two Gentlemen,* III, 1, 69-79.
[27]*Macbeth,* I, 4, 22-27.

This statement of the subject's duty stems from the fifth commandment, and in all forms of Nowell's *Middle* and *Largest* catechisms it is so attached. The *Little Catechism* had said it was the subject's duty

To looue, honor, & succor my Father and Mother. To honor & obey the Queene, and hir Ministers. To submit my self to all my gouernours, teachers,

etc.[28] In the added section on duties, Nowell begins with duties to the Prince:

Scholer. The holy Apostles S.Paule & S.Peter declaring that the higher powers are ordeined of God, and that whosoeuer doo resist the power, resist the ordinance of God, and do purchase to themselues damnatiō, doo straightlie charge all Subiects to feare, loue, and to honor their Prince. Humbly to obey all their Princes lawes, Commandements, and Ministers or Officers. And that not for feare only, but for conscience sake also. To paie all tributes, and subsidies due to their Prince. And with all their goods, and bodie, faithfully to serue their Prince,

etc.[29]

Nowell directs

Subiects to feare, loue, and to honor their Prince . . . for conscience sake . . . And with all their goods, and bodie, faithfully to serue their Prince.

Macbeth points out that subjects

> do but what they should, by doing every thing
> Safe toward your love and honour

also

> The service and the loyalty I owe,
> In doing it, pays itself.

Macbeth omits fear but gives "love and honour" only as the keywords of the subject's duty, as Nowell also does in his other catechisms, only reversing the order as honor and love. Macbeth recognizes that he is faithfully to serve his Prince with every thing for conscience' sake, as Nowell directs. Macbeth also recognizes that subjects "Are to your throne and state children and servants." This analogy is suggested but not stated in the *Little Catechism* itself by causing the duty to sovereign to follow immediately that to parents. Nor is the analogy stated in Nowell's additions, but servants (appren-

[28]Anders, *ABC,* facsimile. [29]Anders, *ABC,* facsimile.

tices) are commanded to take the attitude of children toward their masters, hence Macbeth groups "children and servants" in his analogy of Prince as father. In the actual social conditions of the time, the master was often far closer to the apprentice than his own father.

These points are found in much expanded form in Nowell's *Largest Catechism.*

M. Doth the law extend only to parents by nature?

S. Although the very words seem to express no more; yet we must understand that all those to whom any authority is given, as magistrates, ministers of the church, schoolmasters; finally, all they that have any ornament, either of reverent age, or of wit, wisdom, or learning, worship, or wealthy state, or otherwise be our superiors, are contained under the name of fathers; because the authority both of them and of fathers come out of one fountain.

M. Out of what fountain?

S. The holy decree of the laws of God, by which they are become worshipful and honourable, as well as natural parents. For from thence they all, whether they be parents, princes, magistrates, or other superiors, whatsoever they be, have all their power and authority; because by these it has pleased God to rule and govern the world.

M. What is meant by this, that he calleth magistrates, and other superiors, by the name of parents?

S. To teach us that they are given us of God, both for our own and public benefit, and also by example of that authority, which of all other is naturally least grudged at, to train and inure the mind of man, which of itself is puffed with pride, and loth to be under other's commandment, to the duty and obedience towards magistrates. For by the name of parents, we are charged not only to yield and obey to magistrates, but also to honour and love them. And likewise, on the other part, superiors are taught so to govern their inferiors, as a just parent useth to rule over good children.[80]

Macbeth says subjects were to do everything "toward your love and honour," echoing Nowell's "honor and love" the prince and magistrate. Macbeth uses the official phrase for his duty. Macbeth says subjects are to be "children and servants" to Duncan's throne. Nowell has here spoken specifically only of being as children. The coupling of servants with children, as we have seen, comes from Nowell's inserted section on duties in the *Little Catechism.* Macbeth has, therefore, also brought servants into the analogy, along with children. The

[80]Corrie, *Catechism,* pp. 130-131.

reader will see how fitting Nowell's advice was for Macbeth at that exact time. An audience reared on Nowell's catechisms would have caught Shakspere's innuendo at once.

I have quoted Nowell's complete form. The *Middle Catechism* very much condenses this passage, putting princes immediately in the forefront among rulers, and retaining, of course, the analogy of children, and the words "to honor & loue them" as the key words of duty. There is no statement, however, here or in the *Little Catechism* of the reciprocal duty of the sovereign, as is implied in the final sentence of the complete form previously quoted. That form goes on to lay down the dire consequences here and hereafter to the disobedient, and ends thus,

> M. But it is much more heinous for a man to offend or kill the parent of his country than his own parent.
>
> S. Yea, surely. For if it be for every private man a heinous offence to offend his private parents, and parridice to kill them; what shall we say of them that have conspired and borne wicked armour against the commonweal, against their country, the most ancient, sacred, and common mother of us all, which ought to be dearer unto us than ourselves, and for whom no honest man will stick to die to do it good, and against the prince, the father of the country itself, and parent of the commonweal; yea, and to imagine the overthrow, death, and destruction of them whom it is high-treason once to forsake or shrink from? So outrageous a thing can in no wise be expressed with fit name.[31]

The reader will see how Shakspere has immediately given his audience a clue to the role of Macbeth by having him refer so specifically to the official pronouncement on a subject's duty, and then in his next speech but one inform the audience that he has desires for the throne. The audience knows that with his eyes wide open Macbeth is well on the way through which some "do purchase to themselues damnatiō." Shakspere's audience, trained on Nowell, would have caught instantaneously certain things about Macbeth which critics are even yet loth to see. These words were not put into Macbeth's mouth by accident. The total implications are best accounted for by Nowell's form of the *Little Catechism* as the fundamental, but with the aid of one or the other form of his own *Catechism.* Perhaps the *Largest Catechism* would satisfy the supplementary position most fully, but the *Middle Catechism* would do.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.

In his insertion upon duties Nowell had considered the duties of subjects to sovereign, children to parents, to their spiritual parents, of servants to their masters; then of parents to children, of masters to servants, of husbands to wives, of wives to husbands. We have seen that Shakspere echoes the directions as to the mutual relations of sovereign and subject, of parent and child, and of master and servant. Since Nowell has adapted the exhortation attached to the marriage ceremony for his statement on the duties of husbands and wives, it would be difficult to tell from which source Shakspere's knowledge derives. Katharina's lecture on the duty of wives at the end of *Taming of the Shrew* expands this orthodox doctrine of marriage at length, but may not be Shakspere's. Since Shakspere was certainly well acquainted with the marriage ceremony, all his knowledge of this nature could have derived from it, but in view of his certain knowledge also of Nowell's section upon duties, part of his knowledge probably derives from that source as well. I have not noticed any certain echo of the duty to spiritual parents. It is clear, however, that Shakspere knew his duties as Nowell phrased them and perhaps equally clear that at least part of his knowledge came from Nowell's insert upon duties in the *Little Catechism.*

Similarly with the insert upon the sacraments. Shakspere reflects a point on the sacrament of baptism.

> No less notably another villian, Iago, is an exponent of divinity, and there is in his case no doubt as to the source of his inspiration. It is Iago who gives Holy Writ its highest title in "confirmations strong As proofs of Holy Writ." There has been no better summary than his of the Anglican doctrine that Baptism is accompanied by forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Spirit:
>
> wer't to renounce his Baptism,
> All seals and symbols of redeemed sin.
>
> It might be concluded that Iago had been an angel once.[32]

No doubt, in his cherubic youth Iago learned his catechisms. Nowell states the doctrine of these seals thus.

> *Ma. What is the secrete and spirituall grace? Sch.* Forgeuenesse of sinnes, and regeneratiō: both which we haue by the death and resurrection of Christ: and thereof we haue thys Sacrament as a seale & pledge.[33]

I quote the *Middle Catechism,* since the fragment of the *Little Catechism* is seriously imperfect here. It varied, however, only

[32]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 54. [33]Nowell, *Institution* (1572), p. [G₈r].

in details such as adding "or new birth" after regeneration, and ending probably "and thereof w[e haue a pledge] and seale in this Sac[rament]." This passage is itself much abridged and adapted from the *Largest Catechism.*[34]

But Shakspere is thinking of more than baptism alone as is shown by his use of the plural "All seals and symbols." Nowell's introductory statement will show what was in Iago's mind.

Ma. Tell me therefore, how many Sacramentes hath Christ ordayned in his Church?

Sch. Two. Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper.

Ma. What meanest thou by thys worde Sacrament?

Sch. A sacrament is an outward testifying of Gods good will and boũtifulnesse toward vs through Christ, by a visible signe representing an inuisible & spiritual grace, by which ye promises of God touching forgeuenesse of sinnes and aeternall saluation geuen through Christ, are as it were, sealed, and the truth of them is more certainly confirmed in our hartes.[35]

Both sacraments are seals of redeemed sin; not only baptism, but the Lord's supper as well.

The sacraments are seals. But what are symbols? We may quote Norton's English translation of Nowell's *Largest Catechism.*

M. . . . What is now the sum of the gospel and of our faith?

S. Even the same wherein the chief articles of the christian faith have been in old time briefly knit up and contained, and which is commonly called the Creed or Symbol of the Apostles.

M. Why is the sum of our faith called a symbol?

S. A symbol by interpretation is a badge, mark, watchword, or token, whereby the soldiers of one side are known from the enemies. For which cause the short sum of our faith, by which the Christians are severally known from them that be not Christians, is rightly called a symbol.

M. But why is it called the symbol of the apostles?

S. Because it was first received from the apostles' own mouth, or most faithfully gathered out of their writings, and allowed from the very beginning of the church, and so hath continually remained among all the godly, firm, stedfast, and unmoved, as a sure and staid rule of christian faith.

M. Go to. I would have thee now rehearse to me the symbol itself.[36]

The symbol of the Apostles' Creed is then recited, and becomes the basis of discussion for the second part of the catechism, as

[34]Corrie, *Catechism,* pp. 207-8.

[35]Nowell, *Institution* (1572), pp. [G$_{7}$v-G$_{8}$r]. I quote again the *Middle Catechism,* but the surviving fragments in the passage in the *Little Catechism* agree almost exactly. [36]Corrie, *Catechism,* pp. 141-2.

the seals of baptism and the Lord's supper had been of the fourth. The first had discussed the Ten Commandments, the third the Lord's Prayer.

Why then are seals and symbols connected rather than others? Nowell explains,

> *M.* Tell me then briefly in what things the use of baptism consisteth?
> *S.* In faith and repentance. For first we must with assured confidence hold it determined in our hearts, that we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from all filthiness of sin, and so be acceptable to God, and that his Spirit dwelleth within us. And then we must continually, with all our power and endeavour, travail in mortifying our flesh, and obeying the righteousness of God, and must by godly life declare to all men that we have in baptism as it were put on Christ, and have his Spirit given us.[37]

Symbol and seal are inseparable.[38] To renounce the seals and symbols is thus to renounce totally all Christian belief and the tokens of it.

But why the plural symbols? It was the Nicene Creed, not the Apostles' Creed, which was used at communion. Incidentally, this is sometimes referred to as the Nicene Symbol. There was also a third symbol, the Athanasian Creed. No doubt the reader will now see how it happened that "There has been no better summary" than Iago's "of the Anglican doctrine" on baptism, and we may add, the Lord's Supper and Christian belief generally. Nowell had taken most excellent care of that. It is from Nowell that Iago adapts this piece of his "Divinity of hell," as he himself labels his application of it.

The most complete background for this passage is found only in Nowell's *Largest Catechism.* The *Little Catechism* refers to the Apostles' Creed as "the articles of thy belief." The *Middle Catechism* as "The Creede or Christian Fayth, or Beleefe." The use and explanation of the term symbol is only in the *Largest Catechism.* But the *Little* and *Middle Catechism* state the seals most clearly, and the communion service itself enters in. Both theoric and practic are here, and Nowell in his triple catechisms furnishes the theoric.

Again, Henry V conjures the Archbishop of Canterbury to speak with care.

> For we will hear, note and believe in heart
> That what you speak is in your conscience wash'd
> As pure as sin with baptism.[39]

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[37] Corrie, *Catechism,* pp. 208-9.
[38] This is not so clearly brought out in *Little* and *Middle Catechism.*
[39] *Henry V,* I, 2, 30-32.

The Archbishop is to speak as if he had taken the sacrament on the truth of what he was about to say. For

as in baptism we were once born again, so with the Lord's Supper we be alway fed and sustained to spiritual and everlasting life.[40]

The Lord's Supper continued the operation begun by baptism. And in baptism, as Nowell had just explained,

as the uncleannesses of the body are washed away with water, so the spots of the soul are washed away by forgiveness of sins. . . .

M. Do we not then obtain forgiveness of sins by the outward washing or sprinkling of water?

S. No. For only Christ hath with his blood washed and clean washed away the spots of our souls. This honour therefore it is not lawful to give to the outward element. But the Holy Ghost, as it were sprinkling our consciences with that holy blood, wiping away all the spots of sin, maketh us clean before God. Of this cleansing of our sins we have a seal and pledge in the sacrament.[41]

The reader will notice that

Christ hath with his blood washed and clean washed away the spots of our souls . . . the Holy Ghost, as it were sprinkling our consciences with that holy blood, wiping away all the spots of sin, maketh us clean before God

is Shakspere's

in your conscience wash'd
As pure as sin with baptism.

Shakspere has used not merely the doctrine, but the very words of Nowell. And this is why Shakspere combines both the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and that of baptism as here he does. We have quoted the corresponding abridgement of the *Little* and *Middle Catechism* in our previous illustration, and it does not contain this explanation, though, as we have seen, Shakspere makes superb use of it also. Shakspere evidently knew the doctrine of the sacraments thoroughly, both as it is found briefly in the *Little* and *Middle Catechism* and fully in the *Largest Catechism.*

Noble has given this explanation of the passage,

Cf. Acts xxii. 16: "Arise, & be baptized, & wash away thy sinnes;" L, *Baptism:* "and by the Baptism of thy well beloved son Jesus Christ, didst sanctify the flood Jordan and all other waters, to the mystical washing away of sin." This differs slightly from the form of words now in use. The alteration was made in 1662.[42]

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[40]Corrie, *Catechism,* p. 212. [41]Corrie, *Catechism,* pp. 207-8.
[42]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 184.

Nowell's first reference for authority is the passage in Acts, together with Ephesians V, 26 and Titus III, 5, 6, and the passage in the baptismal ceremony is another reflection of the figure; but it will be seen that Shakspere's use of it is specific to Nowell's *Largest Catechism.*

Another significant fact is now evident. With one exception, Shakspere's use of the term sacrament is always in the phrase "take the sacrament" on the truth of some matter, as by implication Carlisle was to do. In the other instance, the sacrament is also the Lord's Supper. Thus Shakspere knows but the two sacraments we have found intertwined in our passages, and one of them is baptism, the other is *the* sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Here is unequivocally the protestant doctrine of the Anglican church, as phrased by Nowell. In the matter of the sacraments, Shakspere most certainly did not accept the seven of the Roman Catholics, and this was in that time a touchstone for a Roman Catholic.

Noble[43] has shown that the opening lines of *Love's Labor's Lost* echo the baptismal service. They also echo Nowell occasionally. Says Dumain,

> My loving lord, Dumain is mortified:
> The grosser manner of these world's delights
> He throws upon the gross world's baser slaves:
> To love, to wealth, to pomp, I pine and die;
> With all these living in philosophy.[44]

In the *Largest Catechism* Nowell explains

> For by the force of Christ's death our old man is, after a certain manner crucified and mortified, and the corruptness of our nature is, as it were, buried, that it no more live and be strong in us. And by the beneficial mean of his resurrection he giveth us grace to be newly formed unto a new life, to obey the righteousness of God.[45]

Dumain's speech exactly parallels this. His old man is mortified; he throws off the corruptness of his nature, and is newly formed to a new life. It will be seen where Dumain gets his figure of being mortified and what he means by it. While the doctrine is expressed also in the *Little* and *Middle Catechism,*[46] the parallel in structure is not so accurate. The baptismal ceremony of the Prayer Book says,

[43]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 142. [44]*Love's Labor's Lost,* I, 1, 28-32.
[45]Corrie, *Catechism,* p. 208. [46]Nowell, *Institution* (1572), p. [G$_8$v].

continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living.[47]

The connection with Nowell's *Largest Catechism* is exact. It will be remembered that the wildness of Prince Hal was mortified in exactly this same way,[48] and passages in *Julius Caesar*[49] and *Macbeth*[50] cannot be understood without a knowledge of this sense and its connotations of the word mortified.

On the matter of the two sacraments, Shakspere at least also echoes the fundamental doctrine of how "To examine our selues whether wee be true members of Christ," "that wee may come rightly to the Lords Supper." Nowell says we shall know this

First, if wee hartilie repent vs of our sinnes: Next, if we staie our selues & rest in a sure hope of Gods mercie through Christ, with a thankfull remembrance of our redemption purchased by his death. Moreouer, if we cõceiue an earnest mind and determinate purpose to leade our life godlie hereafter. Finally, if seeing in the Lords Supper is conteined a token of friendship and looue among men, we beare brotherly loue to our neighbours, that is, to all men, without any euill will or hatred.[51]

Now Ariel tells the conspirators, "You are three men of sin," and to guard them from the wrath of the powers is

nothing but heart-sorrow
And a clear life ensuing.[52]

They must repent "hartilie," with "heart-sorrow," and lead their lives godly thereafter, "a clear life ensuing." Here is the doctrine of repentance in a nut-shell. There is nothing, however, to show directly that Shakspere had this doctrine from Nowell's statement rather than from various other presentations of it.

It appears, however, from our examples that Shakspere certainly knew well the Anglican doctrine upon the sacraments and that his knowledge had been systematized by Nowell. Part of this knowledge appears to have come from Nowell's addition to the *Little Catechism.* Since the *Middle Catechism* merely refurbishes in details the *Little Catechism* on this matter, it has not been possible to distinguish between the two.

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[47]Clay, *Liturgical Services,* p. 205. [48]*Henry V,* I, 1, 26 ff.
[49]*Julius Caesar,* II, 1, 324. [50]*Macbeth,* V, 2, 5.
[51]Nowell, *Little Catechism* (1582), pp. [B_8 r & v]. Practically the same phraseology in *Institution* (1572), p. H_3r, and in *Largest Catechism* (Corrie, *Catechism,* p. 216). [52]*Tempest,* III, 3, 81-2.

But part of Shakspere's knowledge seems certainly also to have come from Nowell's *Largest Catechism.*

Shakspere's ABC and catechism would in addition have had certain graces attached, which he would have memorized and have been expected constantly to use, and would as constantly have heard in use by others. But since these graces were only a beginning and since there were other graces to be mastered in other collections, we had best consider the problem of Shakspere's graces as a whole. Shakspere has one very revealing reference.

Lucio. I believe thee; for I think thou never wast where grace was said.

Sec. Gent. No? a dozen times at least.

First Gent. What, in metre?[53]

Jacobson[54] thinks that the reference to grace "in metre" refers specifically to one of the graces in Nowell's form of *The ABC with the Catechism,* which is in metre. It runs,

Grace before meate.

Receiue your meate without grudging,
Take heede yee neuer abuse the same:
Giue thanks to God for euery thing,
And alwaies praise his holy name,
Who doth not so is sore to blame.
No euill example see that yee giue:
Thus doth Gods Woord teach vs to liue, *Amen.*

The point to one of Shakspere's jests is cleared only by a knowledge of this grace. Margaret tells Beatrice,

Yet Benedick was such another, and now is he become a man: he swore he would never marry, and yet now, in despite of his heart, he eats his meat without grudging: and how you may be converted I know not, but methinks you look with your eyes as other women do.[55]

Benedick has set an evil example by abusing the meat of love, swearing he would none of it, but now he is converted and eats his meat without grudging. The allusion is unmistakably to this grace.

This grace is found first in the *Primer and Catechism* of about 1564.[56] In this primer, there are two graces in prose, and three in meter, including this particular grace. All five appear

[53] *Measure for Measure,* I, 2, 19-22. [54] Jacobson, *Catechismus,* p. xxxvi n.
[55] *Much Ado,* III, 4, 87-92. [56] Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 248, p. 300.

also in the edition of c. 1580,[57] together with two which are first found in the *Primer* of 1553, and five which are not previously known, to make up a dozen as in Nowell's form of *The ABC with the Catechism.* This change was thus probably made about 1571 or later, after Shakspere's need should have passed. The *Primer and Catechism* of 1580 and Nowell have, however, only three graces in common, and Nowell evidently gets two of those eventually from the *Primer* of 1553, and the third, our grace in meter, from the *Primer and Catechism* of the form printed about 1564. Therefore, Shakspere's grace derives ultimately from either the *Primer and Catechism* of the form found first about 1564 and current in his days in school, or from Nowell's form of the *Little Catechism* in English, which arrived only after Shakspere should have mastered his ABC and catechism in petty school. But we have seen that Shakspere pretty certainly knew Nowell's form of the *Little Catechism* in English. He may well, therefore, have been impressed by its only grace in meter.

This, however, is the only grace in meter in Nowell's catechism, and Shakspere's reference implies a general custom. And the custom was general. For the *Primer* of 1553, which was still the authorized form of Shakspere's day in school, has seven sections of prose, followed by six graces in meter. It is to these, therefore, that Shakspere evidently refers. As we have seen at some length, these were pretty certainly the graces which were attached to *The ABC with the Catechism* of Shakspere's days in petty school. It seems clear that Shakspere himself has alluded to at least three of these six metrical graces.

We can easily locate one grace in meter which was known to Shakspere.

> *King.* Now, Hamlet, where's Polonius?
> *Ham.* At supper.[58]

Noble says,

Cf. 2 King Henry VI., V. 1. 214. Hamlet here, as the next line but one shows, is playing on the word "supper." In Rev. xix. 9: "Happie are they which are called vnto the supper of the Lambes marriage." When asked again, "Where is Polonius?" he answers, "In heaven."[59]

[57] Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 254, pp. 302-3.
[58] *Hamlet,* IV, 3, 17-18.
[59] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* pp. 206-7.

This is too subtle, and is unnecessary besides. One of the graces in meter runs

Grace before supper.

He that is King of glory, and Lord over all,
Bring us to the supper of the life eternall.
Our Father, which art, &c.[60]

All would understand this allusion. Polonius had gone "to the supper of the life eternall." This is merely a metrical version of the second paragraph of the first grace, "The King of eternal glory make us partakers of thy heavenly table. Amen." which was part of the "Grace before dinner;" but Shakspere's reference is clearly to the metrical version.

It is all but certain that the companion grace after supper was the occasion of a well-known jest of Shakspere's. The Hostess is describing Falstaff's death.

Nay, sure, he's not in hell: he's in Arthur's bosom, if ever man went to Arthur's bosom. A' made a finer end and went away an it had been any christom child.[61]

This was the kind of end for which one prayed in

Thanks after supper.

O LAMB of God, Christ, which takest away
The sins of the world, and cleansest all thing,
We give thanks, that us sinners this day
Hast saved us, kept us, and given us feeding.
Grant us, we beseech thee, at our ending
Clean remission, and that in perfect love
We may depart hence, full of thy blessing,
And rest in Abraham's bosom above. Amen.[62]

Arthur's bosom is from the last line. Then the preceding three lines are paraphrased and echoed. Notice "end-ending," "went away—depart hence." The "christom child" is the Hostess' idea of "clean remission" and "in perfect love." Richard the Third says to Tyrrel, who had just reported the death of the princes,

Come to me, Tyrrel, soon at after supper
. . . . . .
The sons of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom.[63]

The connection between supper and Abraham's bosom may have been occasioned by this grace after supper. Again,

[60]Ketley, *Liturgies*, p. 374.
[61]*Henry V*, II, 3, 9-12.
[62]Ketley, *Liturgies*, p. 375.
[63]*Richard III*, IV, 3, 31-38.

Bolingbroke says that though Norfolk is his enemy, he will repeal him, and Carlisle replies that Norfolk has given "his pure soul unto his captain Christ." So Bolingbroke wishes

> Sweet peace conduct his sweet soul to the bosom
> Of good old Abraham![64]

Christ has cleansed the soul of Norfolk as the grace asks, and Bolingbroke petitions that in peace, "in perfect love," so far as he is concerned, it may go to its rest in Abraham's bosom. So when Buckingham is summoning Richard to appear between two bishops, with a *prayer book* in his hand, Buckingham says "I come in perfect love to him."[65] The associations in all these instances are those of the grace, not those of the original parable (Luke, xvi, 19-31), though the Biblical story is also in the background of the Hostess' interpretations. When all these facts are considered, I believe it is clear that Shakspere is each time thinking in terms of this "Thanks after supper," just as he used its companion, "Grace before supper." These must have been among the graces in meter to which Shakspere refers.

When Julia says

> Of such divine perfection, as Sir Proteus
> . . . . . .
> O, knows't thou not his looks are my soul's food?
> Pity the dearth that I have pined in,
> By longing for that food so long a time.[66]

she is speaking in the terms of another of these graces in meter.

> *Thanks after meat.*
>
> BLESSED be the Father celestial,
> Who hath fed us with his material bread;
> Beseeching him likewise to feed the soul
> And grant us his kingdom when we be dead.[67]

Julia longs for the "divine perfection" of Proteus as she should for that of "the Father celestial." His "divine perfection" is her "soul's food," as "the Father celestial" is besought "to feed the soul." Julia wants to feed upon that meat that she may give the accustomed thanks after it.

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[64] *Richard II*, IV, 1, 86 ff.

[65] *Richard III*, III, 7, 90. The phrase "perfect love" occurs again in *Richard III*, and once in each of two doubtful plays. Cf *1 John*, 4, 18.

[66] *Two Gentlemen*, II, 7, 13-17.

[67] Ketley, *Liturgies*, p. 375. This is a metrical reworking of the "Grace after supper."

It is thus clear that from some source Shakspere knew the metrical graces of the *Primer* of 1553. There is also some reflection of the prose graces. In *Pericles,* there is an allusion to the first grace, when Helicanus asks Pericles

> How dare the plants look up to heaven, from whence
> They have their nourishment?[68]

The "Grace before dinner" began "The eyes of all things do look up and trust in thee, O Lord, thou givest them meat in due season." Though this is in a highly doubtful play for Shakspere, yet its parallel explains an allusion in *Much Ado,* a few lines after another allusion to the opening question of the *Little Catechism,* which we have examined above.

> *Leon.* Dost thou look up?
> *Friar.* Yea, wherefore should she not?
> *Leon.* Wherefore! Why, doth not every earthly thing
> Cry shame upon her?[69]

Every earthly thing cries shame on Hero for looking up as "all things do look up and trust in thee, O Lord."

Again, Sir Nathaniel is thinking in terms of the "Grace after dinner," when he says of the most exasperating Dull,

> Sir, he hath never fed of the dainties that are bred in a book; he hath not eat paper, as it were; he hath not drunk ink: his intellect is not replenished.[70]

The grace runs,

> Glory, honour and praise be to thee, O God, which hast fed us from our tender age, and givest sustenance to every living thing: replenish our hearts with joy and gladness.

Dull had not fed and been replenished. Probably the reference to "tender age" in this grace also helped make of Moth a "tender juvenal."[71] The phrase "every living thing" in this and the previous grace probably also had its effect upon Shakspere's phrase "every earthly thing" in our previous example.

In the "Grace after supper" is the phrase "From henceforth, world without end." So the Princess in *Love's Labor's Lost* thinks the latest minute of the hour

> A time, methinks, too short
> To make a world-without-end bargain in.[72]

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[68] *Pericles,* I, 2, 55-56. [69] *Much Ado,* IV, 1, 120-123.
[70] *Love's Labor's Lost,* IV, 2, 25-27. [71] *Love's Labor's Lost,* I, 2, 8, 12.
[72] *Love's Labor's Lost,* V, 2, 798-99.

The phrase, however, was frequently used in other connections, this grace being only one source of propagation, no doubt.

But Shakspere has pretty clearly alluded to at least two of the seven prose graces, as he alluded to three of the six metrical graces of the *Primer* of 1553. The two prose graces are also in Nowell's English version, and were reinforced for most grammarians by the Latin and the Greek translations. We have seen that this set of graces of 1553 was almost certainly attached to the form of *The ABC with the Catechism* which Shakspere would first have used at the end of the 'sixties. If not, we should need to send him directly to the complete *Primer*. The single metrical grace not in this set was in the *Primer and Catechism,* and passed thence to Nowell's form of *The ABC with the Catechism.* Since Shakspere appears to have used Nowell's form of the catechism also, his knowledge of the graces can be accounted for by these two forms of his catechism, without recourse to the *Primer and Catechism.*

It is clear, then, that Shakspere learned to read in the conventional way upon *The ABC with the Catechism.* He learned his letters, how to put them together in spelling, and how consequently to read. He not only read but memorized the catechism, as was required for confirmation, and never forgot it. Its graces he also memorized and doubtless used. Now that we are certain that Shakspere knew *The ABC with the Catechism,* probably in both of the current English forms, we must turn next to the further materials from the *Primer* to see if we can find in what form he came in contact with them.

It must be a significant fact here, however, that it is the metrical graces, rather than the prose, which Shakspere reflects most fully from his Absey books. Early pricks will be a thorn! As in petty school, so in grammar school, we shall find the same thing to be true.

CHAPTER X

SHAKSPERE'S REFLECTIONS OF OTHER MATERIALS FROM THE *PRIMER*

ACCORDING TO THE CUSTOM OF THE TIME, Shakspere should have proceeded in petty school from *The ABC with the Catechism,* the "Absey book" as he himself calls it, to the *Primer and Catechism.* But though the school *Primer and Catechism* kept the term primer alive, Shakspere does not use it. He does know, however, the *Book of Common Prayer,* from which these materials derive and the *Psalter,* which also included the essential materials from the *Book of Common Prayer* for the layman's use.

Shakspere refers, of course, to service books. Gratiano says he is going to be very soberly respectable.

> Wear prayer-books in my pocket, look demurely,
> Nay more, while grace is saying, hood mine eyes
> Thus with my hat, and sigh and say 'amen,'
> Use all the observance of civility.[1]

Buckingham advises Richard III how to impress the Mayor and citizens.

> And look you get a prayer-book in your hand,
> And stand betwixt two churchmen, good my lord;
> For on that ground I'll build a holy descant.[2]

So when Richard appears between two Bishops, Buckingham says

> Two props of virtue for a Christian prince,
> To stay him from the fall of vanity:
> And, see, a book of prayer in his hand,
> True ornaments to know a holy man.[3]

Both Gratiano and Richard will exhibit prayer-books that they may be taken for holy men, but neither indicates certainly that he will use the *Book of Common Prayer.* Tyrrel reports as one of the deterrants to killing the Princes,

> A book of prayers on their pillow lay.[4]

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[1] *Merchant of Venice,* II, 2, 201-204. [2] *Richard III,* III, 7, 47-9.
[3] *Richard III,* III, 7, 96-99. [4] *Richard III,* IV, 3, 14.

Proteus also uses the figure of a prayer-book

> If ever danger do environ thee,
> Commend thy grievance to my holy prayers,
> For I will be thy beadsman, Valentine.
> *Val.* And on a love-book pray for my success?
> *Pro.* Upon some book I love I'll pray for thee.
> *Val.* That's on some shallow story of deep love:
> How young Leander cross'd the Hellespont.[5]

We are not told in any of these instances what type of prayer-book is referred to. But when Dr. Caius says of the parson-schoolmaster Sir Hugh Evans "he has pray his Pible well, dat he is no come,"[6] we may infer that the parson would use his *Book of Common Prayer.* While Sir Hugh waits he mixes up Marlowe and the metrical psalms, as we have seen. As a parson, Sir Hugh had his Bible with a *Book of Common Prayer,* and Sternhold and Hopkins, all bound together, no doubt. Mistress Page doubtless took *Prayer Book* or *Psalter* with her to church. As Mistress Quickly tells Falstaff,

> and let me tell you in your ear, she's as fartuous a civil modest wife, and one, I tell you, that will not miss you morning nor evening prayer, as any is in Windsor, whoe'er be the other.[7]

The echoes which Noble has gathered make it clear that Shakspere himself was well versed in both the *Book of Common Prayer* and the *Psalter.* No doubt Shakspere had been taught properly in grammar school how to use them, as was the custom of his day.

But even in petty school Shakspere should have read the *Primer and Catechism* as soon as he had memorized *The ABC with the Catechism.* Since the boys were only to "read" the *Primer,* not to memorize it, the materials were not so firmly fixed in mind. Also, while these materials were supposed to be for private devotions, they were merely a selection from those to be used in public prayer, consequently derive ultimately from the *Book of Common Prayer* and were to be found also among the materials attached to the *Psalter.* So while it is easily possible to show that Shakspere knew such materials as are to be found in the *Primer and Catechism,* it is a wholly different matter to show that he had them from that particular source.

[5] *Two Gentlemen,* I, 1, 16-22.
[6] *Merry Wives,* II, 3, 7-8.
[7] *Merry Wives,* II, 2, 99-103.

Nor has he referred directly to this text as he has the Absey book. But there are a few associations which seem to point to the school *Primer and Catechism.* One of these is a passage from which our extract upon grace in meter was taken for the previous chapter.

The whole passage is upon a catechetical background, but with certain primer-materials associated.

Lucio. If the duke with the other dukes come not to composition with the King of Hungary, why then all the dukes fall upon the king.

First Gent. Heaven grant us its peace, but not the King of Hungary's!

Sec. Gent. Amen.

Lucio. Thou concludest like the sanctimonious pirate, that went to sea with the Ten Commandments, but scraped one out of the table.

Sec. Gent. 'Thou shalt not steal'?

Lucio. Ay, that he razed.

First Gent. Why, 'twas a commandment to command the captain and all the rest from their functions: they put forth to steal. There's not a soldier of us all, that, in the thanksgiving before meat, do relish the petition well that prays for peace.

Sec. Gent. I never heard any soldier dislike it.

Lucio. I believe thee; for I think thou never wast where grace was said.

Sec. Gent. No? a dozen times at least.

First Gent. What, in metre?

Lucio. In any proportion or in any language.

First Gent. I think, or in any religion.

Lucio. Ay, why not? Grace is grace, despite of all controversy: as, for example, thou thyself art a wicked villain, despite of all grace.[8]

The First Gentleman had started a religious train of thought by echoing the Litany,[9] which runs

> O Lambe of God that takest away the sinnes of the world.
> Grant vs thy peace.

He had paraphrased by saying, "Heaven grant us its peace," and then had made the application to the subject in hand, "but not the King of Hungary's." As a soldier, the First Gentleman wanted heavenly peace, but not earthly peace, since if the King of Hungary made peace with the dukes, the First Gentleman would be out of employment. The Second Gentleman gives a proper and pious "Amen" to this sentiment. Lucio then turns to the Ten Commandments for a parallel of the pious pirate

[8] *Measure for Measure,* I, 2, 1-27.

[9] Savage and Fripp, *Minutes and Accounts,* Vol. III, p. xxviii; Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 221. I had noticed the allusion independently.

who scraped out "Thou shalt not steal." The First Gentleman recognizes the parallel with his own case, since that commandment commanded the pirate not to exercise his "function," just as the prayer in the Litany crossed the desires of the First Gentleman himself. So he admits the implication and continues that soldiers do not relish the prayer for peace in the thanksgiving before meat either. When the Second Gentleman claims he never heard of any soldier disliking that petition, the others retort that he had never been where grace was said, and so could have heard no objections to it. The First Gentleman had made reference to grace in any religion, which had led Lucio to the punning statement that "Grace is grace,[10] despite of all controversy," referring to a controversy of the time whether one was saved by "special grace" as the Church of England declared in its catechisms, or by works, as it was claimed the Roman Catholics taught. Lucio then makes the application that the First Gentleman is "a wicked villain, despite of all grace." As Nowell explains concerning the doctrine of grace, some would not receive this "special grace" and yet God in withholding it

> doeth them no wrong, in that he giveth them not the grace which he oweth them not, but as he found them, so leaveth them to their own disposition and nature.[11]

Grace may be grace, but God owes the First Gentleman none. Despite of all grace, he is a wicked villain, and so the wit combat goes on. A prayer for peace from the Litany leads through the ten commandments to the petition for peace before meat, which as a grace then leads to the punning statement of grace, involving a reference to the differences of opinion on the doctrine of grace as presented by the church catechisms. Catechism is predominant, but Litany induced it. It may be noticed that in private prayer for Sunday Morning, the Litany was preceded by the collects, one of which was for peace, followed by one for grace. This is a special application of the general rule, according to which these two collects were to be said at Morning Prayer throughout the year; and two others of similar import at Evening Prayer. But in spite of all these, the First Gentleman did not want peace and he had no grace.

[10]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge*, p. 222. [11]Corrie, *Catechism*, p. 125.

Incidentally, it is clear that Professor J. Dover Wilson has no ground for seeing a specific reference in the "King of Hungary's" peace to that which the King of Hungary had made with the Turks on November 11, 1606 at Zsitva-Torok.[12] The King of Hungary in this play is not fighting the Turks but the Dukes, one of whom these gentlemen at Vienna evidently serve. And they merely hope he won't make peace because that will take away their profession of fighting. The reference is overtly and specifically to the perpetual rivalry of Austria-Hungary, not to Turkey at all. And even the application by itself has no pertinence to the peace of 1606. There is merely a King of Hungary's peace in both—"there is salmons in both"!!

The association of materials from the Litany and Catechism in our passage may be due to their association in *The Primer and Catechism.* We must, however, examine further the petition for peace in "the thanksgiving before meat." In the *Primer* of 1553 "Thanks" are always after "dinner," "supper," or "meat." "Grace" is always said both before and after "meat." "Grace" had been the term in Henry VIII's *Primer* of 1545, though the particular meal is each time specified. Now Shakspere's habitual usage is "grace" before meals as in the *Primer* of 1553. The meticulous Master Holofernes invites Sir Nathaniel to dine with the father of one of his pupils, "if, before repast, it shall please you to gratify the table with a grace."[13] Of grace Falstaff thinks Prince Hal will never have "so much as will serve to be prologue to an egg and butter."[14] As a good schoolmaster and parson, Sir Hugh

[12]Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur and Wilson, J. D., *Measure for Measure,* pp. 104-5, 118.

[13]*Love's Labor's Lost,* IV, 2, 160-161. Holofernes is, as usual, talking in terms of stock Latin phrases. For instance, the *Orarium* of 1560 heads the proper formulae before and after meat thus (Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 244, p. 253), "Benedictio mensae . . . Post pastum gratiarum actio." The corresponding headings in its successor, the *Preces Privatae,* 1564, are "Precationes ante cibum, quas Consecrationes vel Benedictiones mensae dicimus. . . Gratiarum actiones a cibo" (Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 247, p. 267). As the basis of his thought, Holofernes has some such phrase in mind as "To say grace; *Consecrare mensam*" (Robertson, *Phraseologia* (1681)). But nothing so simple would do as a fitting invitation to Sir Nathaniel. So that Reverend gentleman was *ante pastum gratificor cum gratiarum actione.* The Latin points the rhetorical trick fully, and Holofernes does the best he can with it in English. At least, all that his copious paraphrase amounts to is "to say grace."

[14]*1 Henry IV,* I, 2, 19-23.

Evans "will not be absence at the grace" before dinner.[15] A Lieutenant tells Aufidius concerning Coriolanus,

> Your soldiers use him as the grace 'fore meat,
> Their talk at table, and their thanks at end.[16]

It is not quite clear that it is before rather than after a meal that Gratiano will

> while grace is saying, hood mine eyes
> Thus with my hat, and sigh and say 'amen'.[17]

Though Apemantus says, "Feasts are too proud to give thanks to the gods," yet before his own contrasting meal we have "Apemantus' grace."[18] In the only other place where we have the expression "give thanks" in connection with a meal, it is before supper but in a doubtful play. Petruchio says to Kate, "Will you give thanks, sweet Kate; or else shall I?";[19] but the question is never settled except in reverse, for Petruchio begins finding fault with the meal. Since this touch is not in the source play, it may belong to Shakspere.

Shakspere's properly trained persons always say grace before meals and thanks after. Shakspere regularly uses the standard phraseology of the *Primer* of 1553, grace before meat and thanks after it, instead of grace both before and after as in the *Primer and Catechism* of c. 1564, or in Nowell's catechism in the edition of 1582. Both his graces and his labels for them are predominantly from the *Primer* of 1553, and doubtless came from his *ABC with the Catechism.* But in our passage the first soldier accuses his comrade of never having heard "the thanksgiving before meat." This is ultimately the phraseology of Calvin's *Catechism.* The term there is always "thanksgiving" both before and after meals or meat, except the first instance, where it is "prayer." Thus the first soldier is using the Calvinistic term, as does Petruchio when he asks before the intended meal, "Will you give thanks, sweet Kate; or else shall I?" The first soldier could have found in Calvin's *Catechism* his exact label, "Another thanksgiving before meat," but there is no petition for peace in it. Calvinistic prayers were more likely to be not peace but a sword. The First Gentleman

[15] *Merry Wives,* I, 1, 273-4. [16] *Coriolanus,* IV, 7, 3-4.
[17] *Merchant of Venice,* II, 2, 202-3. [18] *Timon of Athens,* I, 2, 62.
[19] *Taming of the Shrew,* IV, 1, 162.

and Petruchio might just possibly feel that they had discovered kindred spirits. These touches do not show that Shakspere had come into direct contact with these graces in Calvin's *Catechism,* though that possibility must be considered, since before Nowell took the field this catechism was widely used, and continued to find some currency.

For, as we have seen, these graces were attached to Sternhold and Hopkins by 1566. This must have given them and their formulae wide currency. From the air itself Shakspere might have had these chance variants in his phraseology from his regular system as found in the *Primer* of 1553. Shakspere at least knew of the existence of Sternhold and Hopkins, though I find no further possible influence from these attached graces. Nor is there anything to show that Shakspere took Sternhold and Hopkins quite seriously. The Welsh parson-schoolmaster Sir Hugh Evans mixes up Marlowe and these metrical psalms as he awaits the French physician Dr. Caius for a proposed duel.

> To shallow rivers, to whose falls
> Melodious birds sings madrigals;
> There will we make our peds of roses,
> And a thousand fragrant posies.
> To shallow—
> Mercy on me! I have a great dispositions to cry. [*Sings.*
> Melodious birds sing madrigals—
> When as I sat in Pabylon—
> And a thousand vagram posies.
> To shallow & c.[20]

The line "When as I sat in Pabylon" is the opening of Psalm 137 as given in Sternhold and Hopkins.

> When as we sat in Babilon:
> the riuers round aboute:
> And in remembraunce of Sion,
> the teares for griefe burst out:
> We hangd our harps and instrumentes
> the willow trees vppon,
> For in that place men for their vse,
> had planted many one.[21]

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[20] *Merry Wives,* III, 1, 17-26.

[21] I quote here and hereafter wherever possible from *The first parte* as printed in 1564, but normalizing the arrangement.

Since Sir Hugh had "a great disposition to cry," as the Hebrews are here represented as having done, and since there were "rivers in both" Marlowe and this metrical version, Sir Hugh confused the sacred and the secular in his songs as he was doing in his actions. The tunes of the two are likely to have been sufficiently close to permit the confusion.

This frequent form of confusion Shakspere has elsewhere referred to; once more in this same play. Mistress Ford says of Falstaff,

> he would not swear; praised women's modesty; and gave such orderly and well-behaved reproof to all uncomeliness, that I would have sworn his disposition would have gone to the truth of his words; but they do no more adhere and keep place together than the Hundredth Psalm to the tune of 'Green Sleeves'.[22]

Among his four and twenty singing shearers the Clown in *Winter's Tale* says, "but one puritan amongst them, and he sings psalms to hornpipes."[23] In his melancholy mood Falstaff expresses a desire which is explained by this point of view, "I would I were a weaver; I could sing psalms or any thing."[24] Shakspere was clearly amused at the ill-taste of those who sang the metrical psalms to such secular tunes as by nature or associations did not befit the sacred character of the psalms, and he has given some hints as to what kind of people were guilty of this type of confusion.

All of Shakspere's clearest references are of this jocular nature. But it does not necessarily follow from these references that Shakspere was disrespectful to the metrical psalms themselves when properly suited to music. We have seen that he was impressed by the metrical graces more than by the prose. That certainly was not the case with the psalms, for while Shakspere knew the prose version well, as was natural from study and the constant repetition in church service, yet but very little influence has been traced from the metrical version.

In his effort to prove Shakspere a puritan, Carter amassed a great quantity of the most general parallels from a number of sources, including these metrical psalms. His parallels are not numerous from these, and Savage and Fripp have selected

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[22] *Merry Wives*, II, 1, 58-64. [23] *Winter's Tale*, IV, 3, 46-48.
[24] *1 Henry IV*, II, 4, 145-6.

the only three that are strong enough even to be considered. As Noble has now shown, one of these is to the prose version.

> *Pist.* Let vultures gripe thy guts! for gourd and fullam holds,
> And high and low beguiles the rich and poor.[25]

Again,

> *Pist.* He wooes both high and low, both rich and poor,
> Both young and old, one with another.[26]

Carter[27] parallels the first of these passages with the metrical version.

> Both high and lowe both riche and poore.[28]

But Noble indicates the true source thus, "Ps. xlix. 2: 'High and low, rich and poor: one with another' (G, 'As wel low as hie, both rich and poore')."[29]

The second instance appears to hold for the metrical version, but it is in a doubtful play.

> Then, heaven, set ope thy everlasting gates.[30]

As Carter points out,[31] this is a paraphrase of the twenty-fourth psalm of Sternhold and Hopkins.

> Ye princes open your gates, stand open
> the euerlasting gate.

This is twice repeated. The *Prayer-Book* version, as quoted by Noble is[32]

> Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting
> doors.

It will be seen that "set ope thy everlasting gates" is a paraphrase of "stand open the euerlasting gate." But this single instance, being in a doubtful play, may not be Shakspere's.

Savage and Fripp were impressed by a third parallel produced by Carter, which I do not find particularly close. The Queen addresses King Richard II

> thou most beauteous inn,
> Why should hard-favour'd grief be lodged in thee,
> When triumph is become an alehouse guest?[33]

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[25]*Merry Wives,* I, 3, 94-5. [26]*Merry Wives,* II, 1, 117-118.
[27]Carter, T., *Shakespeare and Holy Scripture,* p. 13.
[28]Sternhold and Hopkins (1564), XLIX, 1; Savage and Fripp, *Minutes and Accounts,* Vol. III, p. xxviii. [29]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 182.
[30]*2 Henry VI,* IV, 9, 13.
[31]Carter, *Holy Scripture,* p. 103; Savage and Fripp, *Minutes and Accounts,* Vol. III, p. xxviii. [32]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 126.
[33]*Richard II,* V, 1, 13-15.

Carter[34] thinks that this figure of grief lodging is from

> Though gripes of grief, & pangs full sore
> shal lodge with vs all night:
> The Lord to ioy shall vs restore
> before the day be light.[35]

The germinal idea of Shakspere's figure is quite different. The Queen asks why Grief should be permitted to lodge in this choice inn while Triumph must be content with a mere alehouse. The only common idea is of Grief taking a lodging within a person. A figure so natural to the customs of Shakspere's day, and here so aptly applied to those customs, is not likely to need a direct literary source. In fact, the Queen had already used the figure earlier.

> I know no cause
> Why I should welcome such a guest as grief,
> Save bidding farewell to so sweet a guest
> As my sweet Richard.[36]

Grief is a guest here. Grief also lodges in *Winter's Tale,* II, 1, 111. One may remember, too, another famous passage:

> *Gon.* When every grief is entertain'd that's offer'd,
> Comes to the entertainer—
> *Seb.* A dollar.
> *Gon.* Dolour comes to him, indeed: you have spoken truer than you purposed.[37]

It may be possible that the figure of grief taking up lodging in a person is from Sternhold and Hopkins, but it is hardly probable.

It is unfortunate that Noble did not consider Sternhold and Hopkins in his discussion of the psalms. Had he done so he would have found that this metrical version agrees with the version of the *Prayer-Book* in several instances where he found readings in the *Prayer-Book* alone. It contains the phrases "pangs of death," "pains of hell," the allusion to silver as having been seven times tried by fire, and "the error of the Psalter" concerning iron piercing the soul.[38] The metrical version does not supplant the *Prayer-Book* version in any of

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[34]Carter, *Holy Scripture,* pp. 171-2; Savage and Fripp, *Minutes and Accounts,* Vol. III, p. xxviii.

[35]Sternhold and Hopkins, XXX, 5. Shakspere's "griping grief" (*Romeo and Juliet,* IV, 5, 128) is from the *Paradise of Dainty Devices,* not from this passage.

[36]*Richard II,* II, 2, 6-9. [37]*Tempest,* II, 1, 16-20.

[38]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* pp. 76-78.

these instances, but it does eliminate the *Prayer-Book* version as the sole possible source. We shall do well, therefore, to have a look at the passages which Noble has regarded as less certain for the *Prayer-Book* version.

We may as well begin with the *Henry VI* plays since Noble tells us that in *2 Henry VI* "King Henry quotes Scripture on every convenient opportunity and his references to the Psalter are specially numerous."[39] The first instance in *1 Henry VI,* the greedy lion (I, 2, 27-8), is inconclusive as between the two versions, though I should consider the figure to be clearer in Sternhold and Hopkins.[40] The second instance, mountains not to be removed (II, 5, 102-3), is indifferent between the versions. The third, concerning life as a "pilgrimage" (II, 5, 116), is not found in Sternhold and Hopkins, but is found also elsewhere than in the psalms.

The fourth instance appears to be definitely for Sternhold and Hopkins. Noble accounts for *1 Henry VI,* III, 1, 197 thus,

Exeter. Was in the mouth of every sucking babe. Ps. viii. 2. "Out of the mouths of very babes and sucklings." See also Matt. xxi. 16.[41]

Sternhold and Hopkins read

> Euen by the mouthes of sucking babes,
> thou wilt confound thy foes,
> For in these babes thy might is sene
> thy graces they disclose.

Since there is certainly a Biblical allusion, that allusion is as certainly in the phraseology of Sternhold and Hopkins. The complete passage is the best gloss upon the meaning of Exeter's speech.

A fifth instance, posterity as "fruit" (V, 4, 63), is not in Sternhold and Hopkins, but is found elsewhere than in the psalms. So of the three passages specifically from the psalms, one appears to be certainly from Sternhold and Hopkins, a second may be better accounted for as from that source, the third is indifferent.

In the second part of *Henry VI,* the first instance, "Gives light in Darkness" (II, 1, 66-7), merely finds an analogous phraseology in the psalms, among other places. The *Prayer-Book* version is the closer.

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[39]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 120.
[40]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 109.
[41]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 111.

A second instance is probably from Sternhold and Hopkins.

King. O God, what mischiefs work the wicked ones,
Heaping confusion on their own heads thereby![42]

Ps. vii. 15-17: "Behold, he travaileth with mischief: . . . For his travail shall come upon his own head: and his wickedness shall fall on his own pate." See also Ps. xiv. [4]: "they are all such workers of mischief" (G, "workers of iniquitie"); Ps. cxl. 9: "Let the mischief of their own lips fall upon the head of them".[43]

Sternhold and Hopkins render the first passage

And all the mischiefe that he wrought
shall fall vpon hys head.

which is as good as any. Their second passage, however, is definitely closer

Is al their iudgement so far lost
that all woorke mischiefe still?

Here the wicked actually "work mischief." The third passage is not so close, but adds nothing to the other two. Thus Sternhold and Hopkins have a slight edge here on the other versions.

A third instance at II, 3, 24-5, God as "My stay," is best accounted for by neither of these versions.[44] A fourth instance, the deaf adder, at III, 2, 76,[45] is indifferent as to metrical or prose version. A fifth instance, the "pangs of death" (III, 3, 24),[46] is, as we have seen, indifferent between the two versions. A sixth instance, the gates ajar (IV, 9, 13),[47] is, as we have seen, certainly from Sternhold and Hopkins. A seventh instance, "Hot coals of vengeance" (V, 2, 36),[48] is definitely in favor of the *Prayer-Book* version. The eighth instance, "Can we outrun the heavens?" (V, 2, 73),[49] finds a parallel in the psalms, among other places, and is indifferent between the versions. Thus in *2 Henry VI* there appear to be two fairly definite instances for Sternhold and Hopkins against one for the *Prayer-Book.*

In *3 Henry VI,* the first instance, "by-words" (I, 1, 42),[50] is definitely to the *Prayer-Book* version. A second instance, the gaping ground (I, 1, 161-2),[51] is not specific to the psalms. A

[42] *2 Henry VI,* II, 1, 186-7.
[43] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* pp. 122-3.
[44] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* pp. 76-7, 124.
[45] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 124.
[46] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* pp. 76-7, 125.
[47] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 126.
[48] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 126.
[49] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 127.
[50] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 127.
[51] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 127.

third instance, the adder's tooth (I, 4, 112),[52] is indifferent. A fourth instance, life as a candle (II, 6, 1),[53] is not specific to the psalms, but is indifferent. A fifth instance is probably in favor of Sternhold and Hopkins.

> *Q. Marg.* . . . My tears gainsay; for every word I speak,
> Ye see, I drink the water of mine eyes.[54]

Cf. Ps. lxxx. 5: "and givest them plenteousness of tears to drink."[55]

Sternhold and Hopkins render

> Thou dost them feed w[t] sorrowes deepe,
> their bread with teares they eate:
> And drinke the teares that they do weepe,
> in measure full and great.

Here the victim drinks the tears that get in along with his bread, instead of having them given to him to drink. When Margaret opens her mouth, she gets only down-dropping tears into it to drink; no bread.[56] The figure is not suggested by the *Prayer-Book* version. A sixth instance, the enemy as footstool (a la Marlowe), V, 7, 13-14,[57] is widely spread and not specific to the psalms. Here the *Prayer-Book* version would have the preference.

Thus we have found in *3 Henry VI* one fairly certain instance for the *Prayer-Book* and one for Sternhold and Hopkins. In the three parts of *Henry VI* together, the score stands four for Sternhold and Hopkins against two for the *Prayer-Book*. The author or authors of these plays were pretty definitely more impressed by Sternhold and Hopkins than by the *Prayer-Book* version. This fact is the more significant in that after examination of the remainder of Noble's long list of echoes from the psalms, I do not find another single one that is clearly to Sternhold and Hopkins rather than to the *Prayer-Book,* and but very few more that can tie with it. The conclusion is clear. Shakspere uses the *Prayer-Book* rather than Sternhold and Hopkins; consequently the reflections of the latter in the three parts of *Henry VI* and the possible instance in *Titus Andronicus* are due to someone else. On various other grounds these plays have long been doubted as wholly Shak-

[52]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 128. [53]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 128.
[54]*3 Henry VI,* V, 4, 74-5. [55]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 130.
[56]Probably this version of the figure is also used in *Titus Andronicus,* III, 2, 37-8 (Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* pp. 139-140).
[57]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 130.

spere's. We have then as yet no certain instance where Shakspere reflects the phraseology of Sternhold and Hopkins rather than that of the *Prayer-Book*. He certainly was not an ardent psalm singer. He certainly objected to having the psalms sung to incongruous tunes, and connected that habit with cranks and tradesmen. If he did not object to the singing of psalms at all, at least, he shows no enthusiasm for the practice. It is not likely that he learned to sing from Sternhold and Hopkins and thence picked up directly his traces of Calvinistic phraseology from the graces attached to that work. These traces are more likely to have come from the air as it were.

In still another respect, the First Gentleman seems to be somewhat at variance with the custom of his day. He places the petition for peace in the thanksgiving before meat. The only such petition I have been able to locate is in the prayer for the sovereign and commonwealth, which we have quoted in Nowell's form above. In Henry VIII's *Primer* of 1545, there had been four groups of graces, one before dinner, another after; one before supper, another after. At the end of the group of graces after dinner, and again following the one after supper is the petition, "God save the church, our king, and realm, and God have mercy upon all Christian souls. Amen."[58] The petition for souls soon disappeared, no doubt as "superstition," and was replaced by a petition for peace. Eventually the resultant petition came to be attached as two lines of meter to each of the graces, whether before or after meat.

> God save his Church, our King, and Realm,
> And send us Peace in Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

It will be seen that the first line of this petition is the opening statement of the corresponding section in King Henry's *Primer,* with the single change of "the" to "his." The second line is a plea for peace substituted for the prayer for souls. Such a plea had been substituted in the formula by 1545-7, when Powell gives it as "God save the King, the Queen, and the Realm and send us peace in Christ. An."[59] In the English *Primer* of 1566 (1575) (printed by Seres), the two words "the King" have been omitted so as to fit the new conditions.[60] The Latin form is given in the *Preces privatae* of 1564 (Seres) thus

[58]Burton, *Three Primers,* pp. 460-461. [59]Anders, *ABC,* p. 41.
[60]*Ibid.,* p. 44.

Gratiarum actiones à cibo, semper concludantur hac precatiuncula.
Deus seruet ecclesiam, Regem vel Reginam custodiat, Consiliarios eius regat, populum vniuersum tueatur, & pacem nobis donet perpetuam. Amen.[61]

In the eventual formula, the plea for peace has been filled out into a matching second line by adding "our Lord" after "Christ." The formula in King Henry's *Primer* must have been put into our adapted form shortly after 1545. It appears in 1582, but unlined, thus, "God saue his Church, our Queene, and the Realme, and send vs peace in Christ our Lord. *Amen.*" It had appeared in nearly this form in the *Primer* of 1568, which is likely to have taken this shape about 1559, "Lorde saue thy Churche, our Queene and Realme, and sende vs peace in Christ. Amen." It needs still to recognize the two lines of meter, and to complete the second by adding, "our Lord." It still needed in 1582 to recognize the meter. This English form is apparently the petition to which Shakspere refers, and was itself in meter or about to become so.

But Shakspere has his character say that it was used before meat, again using a technical term. In King Henry's *Primer* of 1545, the petition for peace is attached each time to the grace after the meal. In the *Primer* of 1553, it remains attached to the grace after supper which was taken over from Henry's *Primer,* but got cut away with the ending of the grace after dinner. Apparently there is no instruction on the matter in the graces of the *Primer and Catechism* of c. 1564, since these are out of the English tradition. In the Latin *Preces* by Seres (1564) the instruction is still as in Henry's *Primer.* In 1582, the first grace, before meat, indicates that it is to be followed by the Lord's Prayer. The second grace, after meat, adds the petition for peace. The third grace, before meat, has no indication. The fourth grace, after meat, again calls for the petition for peace. The remaining eight give no instructions. Nowell leveled up in his Latin translation by calling for the *Pater Noster* after the third also, but gave no instructions for the final two. The final form in English, after Shakspere's day in school, leveled up by omitting the Lord's Prayer from the first and attaching the petition for peace throughout. The

[61] *Preces privatae* (1564), p. Z_4v.

custom in Shakspere's day at school seems to have been to say this petition only after meat, though eventually it was said indifferently both before and after. The couplet was originally used on the analogy of praying for the sovereign at the end of a performance. The First Gentleman appears to be speaking contrary to the custom of Shakspere's youth when he speaks of it as being in the thanksgiving before meat, though this may possibly have become the custom by the time of the play, yet the First Gentleman should then have referred to grace, not thanksgiving.

Thus the associations of Litany and Catechism in this passage may be due to their association in *The Primer and Catechism.* As we have seen, the school form of this contained the Calendar, Almanac, ABC, Catechism, Graces, Morning and Evening Prayer, Litany, and the seven penitential psalms. This much of the *Primer* every petty scholar was supposed at least to learn to read. In our illustration from *Measure for Measure,* the fact that the jesters begin with the Litany, and work through the Catechism and Graces may be due to the association in some form of primer. We may now check upon various other details from the school primer to see from their straw which way the ecclesiastical wind blew upon shorn-lamb Shakspere.

Shakspere's calendar, upon the one occasion when it is localized, appears certainly to be not that in the *Primer, Catechism and Primer,* or in the *Book of Common Prayer,* but that in the almanac. "A calendar, a calendar! look in the almanac; find out moonshine, find out moonshine," cries Bully Bottom.[62] But the Clerk of Chatham, if he be Shakspere's, has "a book in his pocket with red letters in't," and so is suspected of being a conjurer.[63] This book was most likely some form of service book. Similarly, Rosaline calls Katharine in *Love's Labor's Lost* "My red dominical, my golden letter."[64] The joining thus of the terms dominical and golden letter is probably more likely to come from the calendar as printed in the *Book of Common Prayer,* the *Primer,* etc. than from that in the almanac. For instance, the new calendar of 1561 says "Note, that the Golden number and Dominicall letter doeth change euery yeere the

[62] *Midsummer Night's Dream,* III, 1, 54-5. [63] *2 Henry VI,* IV, 2, 97-8.
[64] *Love's Labor's Lost,* V, 2, 44.

first day of Januarie."[65] Shakspere from some source had noted that fact. When Constance inquires,

> What hath this day deserved? what hath it done,
> That it in golden letters should be set
> Among the high tides in the calendar?[66]

the reference might be to either form of calendar, I suppose, though Noble appears to assume a liturgical origin.[67] Thus the allusions apparently show no more than that Shakspere knew the uses of a Calendar and Almanac.

It turns out to be a more curious than significant fact that while Noble has occasion to list in his index eleven mentions of *Morning Prayer,* yet he lists but one to *Evening Prayer.* On that single occasion *Morning Prayer* is also mentioned and happens in fact to be closer to Shakspere's phraseology. The passage is

> *King.* Now, God be praised, that to believing souls
> Gives light in darkness, comfort in despair![68]

Noble gives the pertinent passages thus,

L, Evening Prayer, 3rd Collect: "Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord"; *L, Morning Prayer, Benedictus* (Luke i. 79): "To give light to them that sit in darkness"; 2 Sam. xxii. 29: "For thou are my light, O Lorde: and the Lord shall lighten my darkenesse"; Ps. xviii. 28: "Thou also shalt light my candle: the Lord my God shall make my darkness to be light."

Of particular interest is Isa. xlii. 16: "I wil bring the blinde into a streete that they know not, and leade them into a footepath that they are ignorant in: I shal make darknes light before them." *Cf.* also John ix. 5; 2 Cor. vii. 6, G, "God, that comforteth the abiect" (B and R, "humble").[69]

The reader will see that the phraseology, "Gives light in darkness" is from *Morning Prayer* "give light . . . in darkness," not that of *Evening Prayer* or the other passages. But this is from *Benedictus,* which in fact was also repeated in *Evening Prayer.* So Noble has found no passage in Shakspere certainly connected with *Evening Prayer* alone. Besides, the present passage is from a doubtful play.

While many of the others are prefixed to *Morning Prayer,* yet they were also used with *Evening Prayer,* and so belong to both. For the *Book of Common Prayer* directs,

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[65]Clay, *Liturgical Services,* p. 441. [66]*King John,* III, 1, 84-6.
[67]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* pp. 114-115. [68]*2 Henry VI,* II, 1, 66-67.
[69]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 122.

At the beginning both of Morning prayer, and likewise of Evening prayer, the minister shall read, with a loud voice, some one of these sentences of the scriptures that follow. And then he shall say that, which is written after the said sentences.[70]

Noble has marked with an asterisk a passage which used the first of these sentences, to indicate that it certainly used this version.

> *Val.* . . . Who by repentance is not satisfied
> Is nor of heaven nor earth, for these are pleased.
> By penitence the Eternal's wrath's appeased.[71]

Noble comments,

The Bible has much to say about Repentance, but the nearest to Valentine's remark seems to be the rendering of Ezek. xviii. 21-22, L, *Morning Prayer:* "At what tyme soeuer a synner doth repent him of his sine, from the botome of his harte, I wil put al his wickednes out of my remembraunce sayeth the Lord."[72]

I am not so certain of this particular version as is Noble.

The second sentence has a good parallel also, but the same general sentiment is to be found elsewhere. Juliet says,

> Some word there was, worser than Tybalt's death,
> That murder'd me: I would forget it fain;
> But, O, it presses to my memory,
> Like damned guilty deeds to sinners' minds.[73]

Cf. Ps. li. 3—*L, Morning Prayer:* "I do know mine owne wickedness, and my synne is alway against me." (In the Psalter: "For I acknowledge my faults: and my sin is ever before me.") See also *L, Communion, The General Confession:* "The remembrance of them is grievous unto us; The burden of them is intolerable."[74]

This case is thus inconclusive for *Morning Prayer.*

The fifth sentence also finds a close parallel. Hamlet advises his mother,

> Leave wringing of your hands: peace! sit you down,
> And let me wring your heart.[75]

Cf. Joel ii. 13 *L,* Quoted at *Morning Prayer:* "Rente your heartes, and not your garmentes."[76]

The eighth sentence finds two echoes. Falstaff retorts rather tartly to Bardolph "Do thou amend thy face, and I'll amend my life."[77] This echoes *Morning Prayer,* "Amend your lives, for the kingdom of God is at hand."[78] The same phraseology is

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[70]Clay, *Liturgical Services,* p. 53.
[71]*Two Gentlemen,* V, 4, 79-81.
[72]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 142.
[73]*Romeo and Juliet,* III, 2, 108-111.
[74]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 149.
[75]*Hamlet,* III, 4, 34-35.
[76]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 205.
[77]*1 Henry IV,* III, 3, 27-28.
[78]Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 174; cf. p. 61.

echoed by the Clown in *Winter's Tale,* "Thou wilt amend thy life?"[79]

The tenth sentence has three parallels.

Pol. My lord, I will use them according to their desert.

Ham. God's bodykins, man, much better: use every man after his desert, and who should 'scape whipping? Use them after your own honour and dignity: the less they deserve, the more merit is in your bounty.[80]

Noble parallels with *"L, Morning Prayer,* Ps. cxliii. 2, Ps. cxxx. 3."[81] Isabel asks Angelo,

> How would you be,
> If He, which is the top of judgement, should
> But judge you as you are?[82]

Cf. Ezek. vii. 27: "I will doe vnto them after their owne wayes, according to their owne iudgements will I iudge them: and they shall know that I am the Lord." Ps. cxliii. 2, quoted *L, Morning Prayer:* "Enter not into iudgemente with thy seruaunts, O Lord, for no fleshe is righteous in thy syght." Also Rom. iii. 20: "Because that by the deedes of the lawe, there shall no flesh bee iustified in his sight."[83]

Portia says to Shylock,

> Though justice be thy plea, consider this,
> That, in the course of justice, none of us
> Should see salvation.[84]

Thus the sentence from Psalm cxliii finds at least three echoes.

It appears, therefore, that Shakspere echoes more or less closely five out of the eleven sentences; one of them twice, another thrice. In at least the first sentence, Noble thinks that the form of Shakspere's use shows that he had in mind the particular version from *Morning Prayer,* and that is more or less probable in the other instances.

We have followed Noble in basing upon the version in the *Book of Common Prayer* under Elizabeth, since this is the ultimately authoritative form. These particular sentences were not in the *Primer* of 1553, but were inserted in the Elizabethan form,[85] though they were not thence inserted in the *Primer and Catechism.*[86] Noble's more convincing instances, however, apply fairly well to the sentences in the *Primer* of 1553 and the

[79] *Winter's Tale,* V, 2, 166; Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 248; cf. p. 61.
[80] *Hamlet,* II, 2, 552-558. [81] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 209.
[82] *Measure for Measure,* II, 2, 75-77. [83] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 223.
[84] *Merchant of Venice,* IV, 1, 198-200; Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 167.
[85] Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 243, pp. 299-300.
[86] Hoskins, *Horae,* No. 248, pp. 300-301.

Primer and Catechism, except that the tenth sentence, of which Noble finds three echoes, is not there. The variant sentences of the *Primer* of 1553 and its descendants find no parallels in Noble. The balance of evidence is thus for the *Book of Common Prayer* and the church service as the agency which impressed these sentences upon Shakspere, rather than for private use of the *Primer* or school use of the *Primer and Catechism.* If, however, he used the *Psalter* in school or elsewhere, that furnished the sentences of the *Book of Common Prayer,* of course.

But we need also to remember here the insistence of the authorities that the schoolmasters should teach the boys sentences from the scriptures. Because of their importance, these sentences of *Morning* and *Evening Prayer* were certain to be among the first to be memorized, and I think it is clear that Shakspere had memorized them, probably as given in the *Book of Common Prayer,* most likely from the *Psalter.* One could get fairly respectable parallels in Shakspere to most of the remaining sentences, but I prefer to let the matter rest with assembling the materials already provided by Noble.

Another fairly convincing parallel from the preliminary materials of *Morning* and *Evening Prayer* is Iago's

> their best conscience
> Is not to leave't undone, but keep't unknown.[87]

This may well be an echo of "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done."[88] This too is from the materials prefaced to *Morning Prayer* but belonging equally to *Evening Prayer.*

Still another parallel is common to these two, as to other liturgical forms. Hamlet says, " 'tis for the dead, not for the quick."[89]

Cf. *L, Morning Prayer, Apostles' Creed:* "he shall come to judge the quick and the dead." Also *Communion, Nicene Creed.*[90]

The Apostles' Creed was also repeated in *Evening Prayer* and was ordinarily first learned in the catechism. It was doubtless reinforced by both *Morning Prayer* and *Evening Prayer.*

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[87] *Othello,* III, 3, 203-4.
[88] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 219.
[89] *Hamlet,* V, 1, 137.
[90] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 207.

We have left but one of Noble's parallels which seems to be in fact specific to *Morning Prayer* as against *Evening Prayer.* Lorenzo says,

> But in his motion like an angel sings,
> Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins.[91]

"Still quiring" means continually tuning in concert. Cf. *L, Morning Prayer,* the *Te Deum Laudamus:* "To thee all Angels cry aloud: the Heavens, and all the Powers therein. To thee Cherubin, and Seraphin: continually do cry." The *Te Deum* is always sung or said at *Morning Prayer,* except usually in Lent and sometimes in Advent.[92]

The *Te Deum* in English had impressed Shakspere, as there is other evidence to show. Noble has shown how Holinshed's reference to this and another psalm had puzzled Shakspere, causing him to look them up.[93] It can be shown that the present passage in the *Merchant of Venice* is an insert about the time Shakspere was working on *Henry V.* Thus Shakspere's bepuzzlement impressed the *Te Deum* upon him and occasioned Lorenzo's speech. The *Te Deum* is the only section peculiar to *Morning Prayer* as against *Evening Prayer* of which we have yet located a reflection in Shakspere, and Holinshed was responsible for eliciting that reference.

I believe it is indicated, then, that in some connection Shakspere had memorized the sentences of *Morning* and *Evening Prayer,* and was at least familiar with other materials common to the two. I believe the facts prove what under the custom of the time one is entitled to assume, that Shakspere was familiar with *Morning* and *Evening Prayer.* He ought according to the custom of the time first to have learned to read these from his *Primer and Catechism;* but they would have been impressed upon him by constant repetition in the public church service, and it is this form which he appears to reflect.

The *Litany* was also in the *Primer and Catechism,* and it is clear that Shakspere was familiar with it, though there is no indication that he had it from this source rather than from the *Book of Common Prayer* as used in the church service. A parallel passage in *1 Henry VI* may not be Shakspere's.

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[91] *Merchant of Venice,* V, 1, 61-2.
[92] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 168, cf. pp. 80-1, 187.
[93] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* pp. 80-1.

Sal. O Lord, have mercy on us, wretched sinners!
Gar. O Lord, have mercy on me, woful man![94]

As Noble indicates,

The opening petition of the *Litany* is: "O God the Father, of heaven: have mercy upon us, miserable sinners." The ordinary "Lord have mercy upon us" occurs several times in the Liturgy, but of course it was otherwise well known in profane speech.[95]

Again, as Henry V faces the battle of Agincourt he prays,

Not to-day, O Lord,
O, not to-day, think not upon the fault
My father made in compassing the crown![96]

The *Litany* proceeds, "Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers."[97] Henry IV had tried to make amends and so has his son; Henry V prays in echo of the *Litany* that this fault of his forefather may not be visited upon him. The next petition also finds an echo, though in a doubtful play.

The Litany provided Shakespeare with some material. There is the well-known one in *The Shrew,* "From all such devils, Good Lord, deliver us."[98]

L, Litany. A relevant example would be: "From all evil and michief, from sin, from the crafts and assaults of the devil, from Thy wrath and from everlasting damnation, Good Lord, deliver us."[99]

But Dogberry also echoes this petition as Savage and Fripp[100] have pointed out. *"Dog.* O villain! thou wilt be condemned into everlasting redemption for this."[101] The phrase "everlasting redemption" is eventually from Mark III, 29. All versions of Shakspere's day read "eternal damnation" except Rheims, which read "eternal sinne." Nowell in his discussion of the sacrament of baptism attached to his form of the *Little Catechism* also used the expression "woorthy of eternall damnation." Dogberry follows none of these, but the *Prayer-Book,* which read "everlasting damnation." And so he threatens his villains with the direst of all punishments, the "everlasting redemption" of the *Litany.*

Henry IV echoes the next petition.

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[94] *1 Henry VI,* I, 4, 70-1.
[95] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 110.
[96] *Henry V,* IV, 1, 309-311.
[97] Clay, *Liturgical Services,* p. 69.
[98] *Shrew,* I, 1, 66; Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 83.
[99] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 118.
[100] Savage and Fripp, *Minutes and Accounts,* Vol. III, p. xxviii.
[101] *Much Ado,* IV, 2, 58-9.

those blessed feet
Which fourteen hundred years ago were nail'd
For our advantage on the bitter cross.[102]

L, Communion, Prayer of Consecration: "to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption." The King's mood in this scene is heavy with religious emotion. His reference in lines 78-9 to the sin of envy is reminiscent of *The Litany,* "from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness, Good Lord, deliver us."[103]

Henry admits himself in the phraseology of the *Book of Common Prayer* to be a sinner and his son asks in the same terms that God visit not his father's fault. The phrase "sudden death," which occurs in *Hamlet* and elsewhere, is also eventually reminiscent of the *Litany.* Hamlet says that in the forged letter he had asked the King of Denmark that

He should the bearers put to sudden death,
Not shriving-time allow'd.[104]

From such death the *Litany* prayed deliverance,

From lightning and tempest, from plague, pestilence and famine, from battle and murther, and from sudden death.[105]

A further reference in *Henry VIII* is probably not Shakspere's.

First Gent. he was stirr'd
With such an agony, he sweat extremely.[106]

Cf. *L, Litany:* "By thine Agony and bloody Sweat . . . Good Lord, deliver us." See also Luke xxii, 44: "And he was in an agonie, and hee prayed more earnestly, and his sweat was like droppes of blood."[107]

Noble points out

in *Love's Labour's Lost* Longaville's "to hear meekly" in allusion to the petition, "That it may please thee to give to all thy people increase of grace to hear meekly thy word," etc.[108]

We have already noticed the petition for peace. Noble thinks,

The best reference is in *The Merry Wives,* where Sir Hugh failed to recognize a phrase from the Litany and termed it as "affectations". Pistol's "He hears with ears," drew from the parson the angry comment, "The Tevil and his Tam! What phrase is this, 'He hears with ear'? Why, it is affectations." Parson Evans forgot the very familiar phrase from the Litany, which also occurs in Ps. xliv. 1: "O God, we have heard with our ears."[109]

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[102] *1 Henry IV,* I, 1, 25-7. [103] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 169.
[104] *Hamlet,* V, 2, 46-7. [105] Clay, *Liturgical Services,* p. 70.
[106] *Henry VIII,* II, 1, 32-3. [107] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 253.
[108] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 83. [109] Noble, *Biblical Knowledge,* p. 83.

It is not likely that Parson Evans was thinking of the Litany. As Mr. Noble himself points out, Shakspere was not likely to take such open liberties with the church service. It was schoolmaster Evans, not the Parson, who was shocked at the tautological phrase, which was regularly condemned directly or by implication in probably every textbook of rhetoric of the day; "it is affectations."

Some of these instances do not necessarily or probably connect with the *Litany,* but enough hold to demonstrate that Shakspere had a respectable acquaintance with it. He should have learned to read it in petty school, from his *Primer* or *Primer and Catechism,* but there is nothing to show directly that he did so, or from what text.

The seven penitential psalms, another item of the *Primer and Catechism,* show no especial effect upon Shakspere. The three references to Psalm 143 are all to the second verse, which was a sentence for *Morning* and *Evening Prayer.* Psalm 130 has one reference supplementary to one of these three passages. Psalm 102 has a very doubtful reference. Psalm 51 has three echoes, but one of these is also a sentence. Psalms 38 and 32 have no echoes. Psalm 6 has one. Thus the seven penitential psalms, as such, show no more impression upon Shakspere than do their fellows. He may have read them in his *Primer and Catechism,* but they evidently did not at any time express his particular mood.

Shakspere shows some knowledge, then, of all the materials which were included in the *Primer and Catechism,* but from their nature these materials seldom have anything about them which is peculiar to that textbook. Besides, Shakspere was not required to memorize these materials, and it was assumed by the theorists that by the time the boy got to this text he could call most words without pausing to spell them out. The *Primer and Catechism* would not be anything like so well impressed as *The ABC with the Catechism.* Since Shakspere eventually knew the materials of this text, and sometimes associates them in similar way, it is probable that he had read this text as was the custom of his day. He doubtless, therefore, was caused to heed the admonition at the end of his Absey book and to proceed to his *Primer,* such as it then was.

Apparently Shakspere's *ABC with the Catechism* had the full set of graces of 1553 attached, and presumably he read the school *Primer and Catechism* abbreviated from the *Primer* of 1553. If, however, it should turn out that these graces of 1553 were not attached to the *Catechism* of the 'sixties, then we should be obliged to send Shakspere directly to the complete *Primer* instead of to its cheap abridgement. Of course, the teacher may have caused William to memorize these graces from the school copy of the *Primer* of 1553 or one of its reprints. But John Shakspere, high-bailiff of Stratford in 1568-9, with a newly acquired coat of arms, was not likely to spare expense upon his oldest son and oldest surviving child as that son began his training to become a gentleman, as father John might now make claims to be, and as he eventually got recognition that he had always been, so that William might be recognized also as "a gentleman born." The standard book instead of the cheaper school edition might well have been a tribute from father John to the gentleman his son was and was to be. It is more likely, however, that these graces were attached to the *ABC,* and that William used the regular school editions.

But at least one thing is clear. William Shakspere's early training had no backward glances toward earlier "superstition." It lies wholly within the tradition of 1553, not even availing itself of the less advanced versions from 1551, which still might have been had.

CHAPTER XI

WILLIAM SHAKSPERE, ANGLICAN

IT OUGHT NOW TO BE REALIZED that petty training in England had traditionally been religious training. When, therefore, King Henry VIII began to purify his church into authorized uniformity, he naturally purified into authorized uniformity the elementary religious training of the lower schools. Under Elizabeth final and complete uniformity was attained, at least in ideal, both for petty school and for grammar school; and a minimum system of religious texts had been evolved to implement this ideal. The texts for petty school were wholly religious and moral, and we shall find in later work upon the grammar school that this view continued predominant even where the most secular of material was being used.

With the approval of the Bishops, Nowell at the beginning of his *Largest Catechism* causes his grammar-school master to state his duties thus:

> *Master.* FORASMUCH as the master ought to be to his scholars a second parent and father, not of their bodies, but of their minds, I see it belongeth to the order of my duty, my dear child, not so much to instruct thee civilly in learning and good manners, as to furnish thy mind, and that in thy tender years, with good opinions and true religion. For this age of childhood ought no less, yea, also much more, to be trained with good lessons to godliness, than with good arts to humanity: wherefore I thought meet to examine thee by certain short questions, that I may surely know whether thou have well bestowed thy study and labour therein, or no.[1]

This is very much stronger than the corresponding statement in the *Catechism* of 1553, upon which it is based. There re-

[1]Corrie, *Catechism,* p. 113. This distinction between the claims of humanity and religion reminds one of William Kempe's similar distinctions: "Therefore, that we may the more orderly view their traces throughout these schooles, first let vs enter into the olde schoole of Gods people, which we will call the schoole of the *Hebrewes:* secondly, let vs step aside into the schoole of the *Gentiles,* which wee may call the schoole of humanitie: thirdly, we will come neere to our owne schoole, comprehending in it the schoole of Christianitie," this statement being the topic sentence for a most curious history of education in terms of the three types named (Kempe, *Education* (1588), pp. B$_1$ff).

ligion must share with good letters. Now humanity must give way to godliness. Renaissance must bow to Reformation.

In the petty school of Shakspere's day there was no touch of Renaissance, only English Reformation. It had a definite and completely authorized system, with definite and completely authorized minimum texts. We have examined Shakspere upon the materials of those texts, and I believe there can be no dissenting voice that he passes his examinations upon those materials most satisfactorily. Surely the most rigid Bishop of the day would have been glad to bestow his approval, though hardly "a pounde of sugere plate and greate comfettes to make hym larne his booke;" he was more likely to enjoin the teacher not to spare the rod, for this child ought not to be spoiled.

Nor is there any effort apparent anywhere in Shakspere to suppress or alter these materials. Upon emergent occasion he uses them in full sincerity, without conscious reservation. He neither suppresses, contradicts, nor visibly doubts. They were taught to him as truth; he teaches them as truth. It is clear that Shakspere was taught the authorized system. It is equally clear that any other system of which he may have known never disturbed in any way the fundamentals of this original system.

Shortly after birth, William Shakspere was baptized into the Church of England. Of that we have documentary record. Upon that occasion,

At the laste ende, the Priest calling the Godfathers and Godmothers together, shal say this shorte exhortation folowing.

FORASMUCHE as these children haue promysed by you to forsake the Deuil and his woorkes, to beleue in God, and to serue hym, you must remember that it is your parts and duties to see that these enfants be taughte, so sone as they shalbe able to learne, what a solempne vowe, promyse, and professiō they haue made by you. And that they may know these thinges the better; ye shal cal vpon theim to heare Sermōs, And chiefly you shal prouide that they may learne the Crede, the Lordes praier, and the Ten Commaundementes in the English tōgue; and al other thinges which a Christian mā ought to know and beleue to his soules health. And that these childrē may be vertuously brought vp, to leade a Godly and a christiā life, remembrīg alwaies that Baptisme doeth represent vnto vs our profession, which is to folow the exāple of our sauiour Christ, and to be made like vnto hym, that as he died and rose again for vs: so should we (whiche are Baptised) dye from sinne, and

ryse again vnto rightuousnes, continually mortifying al our euyll and corrupt affections, and dailye procedynge in all vertue and godlynes of liuing.

The Minister shal commaunde that the chyldren be brought to the Byshop to be confyrmed of him, so sone as they can saye in theyr vulgare tongue the articles of the faythe, the Lordes praier, and the x. Commaundementes, and be further instructed in the Catechisme set furth for that purpose, accordyngly as it is there expressed.[2]

That he might receive the required training, William Shakspere while yet lisping was sent to petty school to learn these required things. Had he not gone to petty school, other ways were provided for inculcating these materials. But Shakspere learned them in petty school as he himself has told us by his allusions. This also beyond peradventure or shadow of doubt we now know. William Shakspere was baptized into the Church of England. William Shakspere was trained to take his part in the services of that church.

When he had grown to proper age and knowledge, William Shakspere claimed communion in that church by being confirmed. We have no record of confirmation, since no such permanent records were kept, baptism alone being held as the crucial act; but we know that Shakspere was a communicant from various records, such as his standing godfather—or his being married as he was, etc. This also we know.

Upon the occasion of his confirmation, Shakspere had to pass certain examinations.

To thende that confirmaciō may be ministred to the more edifying of suche, as shal receiue it (according unto S. Paules doctrine, who teacheth that al things should be doen in ye Church, to the edification of the same) it is thought good that none hereafter shalbe cōfyrmed but suche as cā saie in their mother tongue the articles of the faith, the Lordes praier, and the x Commaundementes: And can also answere to suche questiōs of this short Catechisme, as the Bishop (or suche as he shal appoinct) shal by hys discretion appose theim in. And this order is most conuenient to be obserued for diuers consideracions.

First, because that when children come to the yeres of discrecion, and haue learned what their godfathers and godmothers promised for thē in Baptisme, they may then themselues wyth their owne mouthe, and wyth their awne consent, openly before the Churche, ratifie and confyrme the same, and also promise that by the grace of God, they shall euermore endeuour themselfes faithfully to obserue and kepe suche thynges, as they by theyr owne mouth and confession haue assented vnto.

[2]Benham, W., *The Prayer-Book of Queen Elizabeth 1559*, pp. 111-112.

Secondly, forasmuche as Confirmacion is ministred to theym that be Baptised, that by imposition of handes and prayer, they may receiue strenghte and defence agaynst all temptacions to synne, and the assaultes of the worlde and the Deuill: it is most mete to be ministred when children come to that age, that partely by the frailtye of their awne fleshe, partely by the assaultes of the worlde and the Deuil, thei begyn to be in daunger to fal into sondry kyndes of synne.

Thirdly, for that it is agreable wyth the vsage of the Churche, in times paste, wherby it was ordeined that Confirmacion shoulde be ministred to them that were of perfecte age, that they, beyng instructed in Christes religion, should openly professe their awne faithe, and promise to be obedient vnto the wyl of God.

And that no man shall thyncke that any detryment shall come to children by diferring of their Confirmacion; he shal knowe for truth, that it is certeine by Goddes worde, that children beyng baptised, haue all thynges necessarie for their saluacion, and be vndoubtedly saued.[3]

Shakspere undoubtedly passed this examination and with his own mouth and consent openly before the church ratified and confirmed what his godfathers and godmothers had promised for him in baptism. For, among other evidences, it is a matter of record that later in life Shakspere himself stood godfather and consequently took upon himself these vows for another.

Certainly, Shakespeare outwardly conformed to the Church of England; his parish records are conclusive on that point. For instance, he stood godfather to William Walker on October 16, 1608. Because of the important duties of a godparent, the church authorities were meticulously careful to see that no nonconformist of any kind should enter that relationship. Canon 29 of 1603 provided: "No parent shall be urged to be present, nor be admitted to answer as godfather for his own child; nor any godfather or godmother shall be suffered to make any other answer or speech than by the Book of Common Prayer is prescribed in that behalf. Neither shall any person be admitted godfather or godmother to any child at christening or confirmation, before the said person so undertaking hath received the holy communion." These restrictions were for the purpose of ruling out Catholics, Puritans, or any other nonconformist. For the godparent had to promise to attend to the spiritual training of the child. Parents were here specifically ruled out, and the duty was placed upon the godparents. So before standing as godfather to William Walker on October 16, 1608, William Shakespeare would have received the holy communion. Politically, this assured that he was a conformist; spiritually, it renewed his own vow to the church before he took the vow for his godchild.

It will thus be well to glance briefly at what vows William Shakespeare renewed for himself and took for his godson, as well as the duties he

[3]Benham, *Prayer-Book*, p. 116.

thereby assumed to the Church of England. On such occasions, it was provided:

"Then the Priest shal speake vnto the Godfathers and Godmothers, on this wyse:

"Welbeloued frendes, ye haue broughte these children here to be baptised, ye haue praied that our lord Jesus christ, would vouchesaufe to receiue them, to lay his hādes vpon them, to blesse them, to release them of their sinnes, to geue theim the kingdom of heauen, and euerlasting lyfe. Ye haue heard also that our Lord Jesus Christ hath promised in his Gospel, to graūt all these thīges that ye haue praied for: which promise he for his part wil most surely kepe and performe. Wherfore after this promise made by Christ, these infants muste also faythfully for their part promise by you that be their sureties, that they wil forsake the divil and al his woorkes, and constantly beleue Gods holy word, and obediently kepe his commaundementes.

"Then shal the Priest demaunde of the Godfathers and Godmothers thes questions.

"Doest thou forsake the deuil and all his workes, the vaine pompe and glorye of the world, with al couetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not folow, nor be led by them?

"Aunswere. I forsake them al.

"The Minister. Doest thou beleue in god the father almighty, maker of heauē and earth? And in Jesus christ his only begotten sonne our Lord, and that he was cōceiued by the holy Ghost, borne of the virgin Mary: that he suffred vnder Poncius Pilate, was crucifyed, dead and buried, that he went doune into hel, and also did rise againe the thirde day: that he ascended into heauen, and sitteth at the right hād of god the father almighty; and frō thēce shall come againe at the ende of the worlde, to iudge the quicke and the dead? And doest thou beleue in the holy Ghoste the holy Catholicque Churche, the cōmunion of sainctes, the remission of synnes, the resurreccion of the fleshe, and euerlasting lyfe after death?

"Aunswere. All this I stedfastly beleue.

"Ministre. Wylt thou be baptised in this fayth?

"Aunswere. That is my desyre."

After prayer, "Then the Priest shal take the Childe in his handes, and aske the name; and naming the Childe, shal dippe it in the water, so it be discretely and warely done. . . . And yf the Childe be weake, it shall suffice to powre water vpon it." Then followed further ceremony and prayer [after which was delivered the exhortation to the godfathers and godmothers which we have quoted above] . . .

Since this baptism was recorded by the regular official of the local church, that fact is our legal guarantee that it was canonical. That we must assume until, and unless, facts show otherwise. So far, there is no fact to disturb that assumption in this particular case, but rather there are many to support it. In any case, by acting as godfather, Shakespeare implicitly conformed. If the officiating priest did anything like his duty,

William Shakespeare both by word and by act made clear on this occasion his conformity to the Church of England, else he had not been permitted to serve as godfather. If he was indeed godfather to the numerous other Williams on whom tradition and modern inference bestow the honor, then Shakespeare rather frequently renewed this declaration of allegiance. The same acceptance is explicit or implicit in numerous other surviving facts concerning Shakespeare, when those facts are interpreted in the light of their contemporary meanings; but it is not necessary to catalog and interpret those facts here. Certainly Shakespeare conformed outwardly to the Church of England, and with that outward conformity his religious convictions, whatever they were, were not at variance. But neither were his religious convictions at variance with those of Catholics, of Puritans, even of Jews. He was not of an age, but for all time. His religion was not of time, but of eternity. It was not bounded by any narrow sectarianism.[4]

We know that Shakspere was baptised into, trained up in, and conformed to the Church of England. That is a matter of record, not of inference, though the legitimate inferences also support those facts. Why then do we have so many cases built up to prove that he was really at one extreme a Roman Catholic or at the other a Calvinistic Puritan? The answer is that in Shakspere's day the Church of England was both. King Henry and his contemporaries and successors claimed the only true and pure pristine Catholic church, while, as they charged, Rome still clung to the corruptions it had thrust upon that pristine church.

Their object was not to revolutionise, but to reform; not to get as far away as possible from the Church of Rome, or from any other Church, but by retracing the steps whereby the primitive Church of England had "fallen from herself," to return to Catholic faith and practice. Hence Queen Elizabeth was perfectly justified in saying, in her letter to the Roman Catholic princes, "that there was no new faith propagated in England; no new religion set up but that which was *commanded by our Saviour, practised by the primitive Church, and approved by the fathers of the best antiquity.*" These same principles are distinctly and authoritatively set forth in the 30th Canon Ecclesiastical, which says, "So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such-like churches, in all things which they held or practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which doth neither endanger the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular

[4]Baldwin, T. W., *William Shakespeare Adapts a Hanging,* pp. 135-9.

points, wherein they were fallen from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches, which were their first founders."[5]

In fact, Henry himself is not altogether unjustly described as "a stubbornly Catholic king, who had a personal quarrel with the Pope."[6]

At first, such external influences as there were upon English Reformation had been of a Lutheran cast. So the overardent reformers of Henry's later years were likely to take refuge in Germany. But those who found it advisable to be absent from England while Mary was in power and were to become bishops and high officials under Elizabeth had come into close contact in one way or another with the ideas of Geneva.[7] It was inevitable that there should be a strong strain of Calvinism in the Church of England in Shakspere's day. We have seen how through Dean Nowell it permeated the official catechisms, for instance. Nowell had been at Strasburg along with Grindal and others, going thence to Frankfort, which was a hotbed of Calvinistic argumentation, though he himself says with regret that he was never at Geneva. Nowell and the catechisms are merely symptomatic, and a detailed study would only demonstrate in detail this essential fact. While the Church of England was neither Roman Catholic nor Calvinistic, yet it had shortly before been Roman Catholic, and was still in Shakspere's day being purified, now in the light of Calvinistic thought, toward a uniform pristine purity. As well-trained Anglicans, Shakspere and his contemporaries were in their essential doctrines both Roman Catholics and Calvinists—as well as a few other things. We have only to close our eyes to the Calvinistic (Lutheran) side to see them as Roman Catholics. One should not need to point out that even now talk of bringing the Anglican Church back into the Roman Catholic fold is perennial. In one tradition, the English church of Shakspere's day was historically and basically Roman Catholic; it was also, among other things, Calvinistic, in so far as certain doctrines of Calvinism diverged from Catholicism.

Such discussions as I have seen merely note parallels with Roman Catholic or with certain divergences of Calvinistic

[5]Daniel, E., *The Prayer-Book*, (8th ed.) p. 26.
[6]Lacey, T. A., *The King's Book*, p. xi.
[7]For their centers of abode, see Strype, *Memorials* (1733), Vol. III, pp. 146 ff.

Puritan doctrine to prove that Shakspere's view was Roman or Genevan, as the case may be. Such a method is wholly unsound. Suppose we wish to reconstruct New Place exactly as it was when Shakspere owned it. We gather from all over England the requisite amount of materials of the proper age. Then we assemble the materials into a structure by fitting them together as their nature may seem to us individually to demand. How likely are any two to get the same result with the same materials? And how likely is anyone by such methods to hit upon the exact pattern of New Place? For we had given us neither the blue-print of New Place nor the exact materials out of which it had originally been constructed.

In reconstruction, we must attempt to get both the original blue-print and the exact original materials, from which to make our reconstructions. The ideal analogy is of the jig-saw puzzle. There, if we have all the pieces (we are always certain that we have not!), they can be fitted together in but one way and so carry their blue-print with them, though even there we find a knowledge of the completed pattern very handy. But our materials are usually conventional and can be fitted together in any number of combinations, like bricks. They seldom carry their necessary pattern upon them. We must, therefore, examine our blue-prints with exceeding care for the general pattern, and our materials with even greater care for any signs as to how they were combined into that pattern.

Our blue-print for this particular problem is furnished by the fact that Shakspere certainly was trained in and conformed to the Church of England. Into that pattern our materials must be fitted, even though we could fit them into any one of a dozen other patterns in ways that would please us better. Here we have recovered the blue-print with any degree of fulness only for the petty school, and have fitted together only enough of the materials to show that Shakspere's early religious training was of that form. We may hope by intelligent work to recover much more, both of pattern and of conforming materials.

We have found, too, that the blue-print for petty school was only a small part of the master plan. A great deal about the master plan can be learned from Nowell's system of catechisms, which formed the authorized statement of the official views of the Church of England then, and for all I know still. Since

Nowell summed up the official doctrine of the church and since that summary was drilled into many generations of Englishmen, including Shakspere, it is especially important on the question of Catholicism versus Calvinism in Shakspere's beliefs to know the sources of Nowell's materials in detail. Jacobson and others indeed have already pointed out in general the relationship of Nowell's *Largest Catechism* to the Latin-English catechism authorized for schools by Edward in 1553, and to that of Calvin.[8] It is possible by a proper study of this document and of Shakspere's relation to it to discover exactly how much of Calvinism was available to the Church of England through this particular channel, and thence to Shakspere in his formal training.[9] Nowell's catechism is one pragmatic test for the source of various elements of English doctrine. Now that we know that Shakspere was drilled on at least parts of Nowell we can discover certainly what in this respect his formal training was, as far as it went. We must then look at the respects in which he varies from that training if we are to find his possible personal leanings toward Romanism or Calvinism, or any other ism. We shall then know what formal beliefs he was taught, and thus to what formal system he conformed to some respectable necessary degree as an Anglican. His actual beliefs might still have been different, of course, from what he was taught and from what he reflects in his writings; but in that case we can have no evidence for them. That is always the Romanticist's refuge—what might have been—perhaps!

We already know, however, when, where, and how Shakspere stored his mind with the formal fundamentals of that religious belief which was to shape his whole outlook upon humanity and the purpose of its existence. For the motive force of Shakspere's universe lies in religion, not philosophy, as Nowell and the Bishops had determined that it should.

[8] Jacobson, *Catechismus,* Introduction.

[9] Mr. R. G. Brooks has gathered some parallels between Nowell's *Catechism* and Shakspere for his master's thesis in the University of Illinois under my direction.

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[1] I have used the Globe edition throughout, unless otherwise specified.

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Besides the conventional register of persons and places, I have aimed to include every item I might want again to find; and I hope that will also be sufficient for other readers, though I doubt that either my time, patience, or intelligence has been sufficient to attain that ideal. This is, of course, not a concordance.

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in the knowledge and loue of god, & of his sonne Jesus Christ our Lord. And the blessyng of God almighty the father the sone and the holy ghost be amongest vs, and remayne wyth vs alwaye. Amen.

O Lord, whych arte the creator of al creatu
pared for them fo
to the nature of t
we most hartely t
these thy creatures
this time we hau
thy name, besechi
ther. That as our
now bi these thi gifts refreshed:
so our souls mai also be nourished with the fode of euerlastig
life in thy moste holy testamēt.

Date Due

and rested the seuēth dai. Wher fore the Lorde blessed the. vii. day, and halowed it.

Lorde haue mercye vpon vs, & ex
o kepe this lawe
ther and thy
daies may be
e, whyche the
eueth the.
vpon vs, and. &c.
murther.
vpon vs, and, &c.
Thou shalt not cōmit adultry.
Lord haue merci vpon vs, and, &c.
Thou shalte not steals.
Lord haue mercy vpon vs and. &c.
Thou shalt beare no false wyt

¶ The A.B.C. for Chyldren to learne.

✠ Aa,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,k,l,m,n,o
p,q,r,ꝛ,ſ,s,t,v,u,w,x,y,z,&,eſt.
Amen, ſh.ā.ē.ī.ō.ū.ſt.ſſ.ſſ.fl.ſl.
A.B.C.D.E.F.G.H.I.K.L
M N O P Q R.S.T.U.X.Y.

¶ A.a b.c.d.e.f.g.h.i.k.l.m.n.o.p.q.r.ſ.s
t.u.v.x.y.z.&.Eſt Amen.ā.ē.ī.ō.ū.

¶ A.B.C.D.E.F.G.H.I.K.L.M.N.O.P
R.S.T.V.W.X.Y.Z.

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[illegible]	ed	id	od	ud	ar	er	ir	or	ur
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[illegible]	[illegible]	ig	og	ug	at	et	it	ot	ut

good & godly worckes alowed before god as liuely mēbers of our ſauiour Jeſu chriſt, to whō be al power, honour and glory, now and euer worlde withoute ende. Amen.

Grace after meate.

NOwe ſ we haue well refreſhed our bodies, let vs remēbre the lamentable afflictions & miſeries of manye thouſandes our neighbours in Chriſt, viſited by the hande of God, ſome with mortall plagues and dyſeaſes, ſome with impriſōment, ſome wyth extreame pouertye

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